

# ANY CAR CAN HAVE A NAVIGATION SYSTEM. BUT WHAT ABOUT AN IMMUNE SYSTEM?

These days, pretty much all cars have features

to help protect you in an accident. But what about the other 99.9% of the time, when you're simply driving? Introducing the 2007 Toyota Camry. Sure, it's got its own impressive list of safety features, including seven airbags. But it's also filled with groundbreaking innovations specifically designed to help protect your well-being from the world at large.



Plasmacluster in ions replicat



Okay, you're probably a bit skeptical. After

all, plenty of companies often talk about "pushing the envelope." But Toyota's engineers actually did it. Brainstorming, talking with Camry owners, asking "what if...?" They were out their silde rules (well, actually, their CAD workstations) striving to make this latest Camry more than just reliable, dependable, user-friendly transportation.



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THE ALL-NEW 2007 CAMRY

a germ, they immediately envelop if rendering it harmless. Think of it as the environment's way of cleansing itself. Now available for the first time in a

technology artificially replicates these
ions, helping to reduce airborne germs inside the
cabin. The system also features a micro dust and
pollen filter, along with an antibacterial coating
designed to minimize the growth of mold spores.

All in all, it's a breath of fresh air for automotive

But the depth of

TOYOTA | moving forward > that actually gives

Campule innovation is more than just s

Or, in this case, IS skin-deep. It's called Fraichir<sup>Nu2</sup> – a remarkable seat fabric treatment derived from real natural silk proteins.

Designed with the skin-drying effects of air,

heat and frigid winter winds in mind, Fraichirma's unique properties are gentle on the skin, while providing comfort for long drives. It's these kinds of advancements that make the Camry not just a car, but a 5-passenger sanctuary from the worst the elements can throw at you.

For more on the car that actually gives you a tune-up, visit

Camry's innovation is more than just skin-deep. toyota.com. Camry. When a car becomes more.



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Whin	24	, 200	10
Vol. 1	167,	No.	17

10 QUESTIONS: John Negroponte on his plans to repair America	S
spy services and why some detainees aren't going anywhere	į
LETTERS	έ

#### NOTEBOOK

HARRIET MIERS: The White House counsel talks to TIME about her Supreme Court debacle; China's Hu Jintao comes to lunch	
MILESTONES: William Sloane Coffin Jr.; Dame Muriel Spark.	
IN THE ARENA: Joe Klein on the joys of listening to New	2:

#### NATION

mainstreamer (M and a statistician	AMERICA'S 10 BEST SENATORS: TIME'S all-star team includes a mainstreamer (McCain), a bird-dogger (Levin), an operator (Kyl) and a statistician (Conrad). Also: the Five Worst
	RUMMY'S GENERAL WOES: A growing number of military chiefs are calling for the Defense Secretary to resign. Will he survive? 41
	WORLD
	LETTER FROM SICILY: After 43 years on the run, La Cosa Nostra's

WORLD	
LETTER FROM SICILY: After 43 years on the run, La Cosa boss of bosses is nabbed near a town called Corleone	
GAZA PAYS A PRICE: Sealed borders and spoiled tomatoe	s4
BUSINESS	
WAL-MART'S BANK SHOT: Why the retail giant's routine regulatory application has local bankers crying foul	
COLENGE	

SCIENCE	
STEM CELLS THAT KILL: Could these newly discovered of with the gift of immortality be the key to curing cancer?	
ARTS	
VIRAL VIDEOS: From the Dancing Baby to Lazy Sunday spread through the Internet like a contagion	
TV: Will Andy Samberg make Saturday Night Live hip again	in?6
BOOKS: Britain's brightest young novelist switches gears.	7
MOVIES: The cool true tale of The Notorious Bettie Page	7
WORTH YOUR TIME: On TV Broadway and the bookshe	If 7:

#### YOUR TIME

<b>HEALTH:</b> Making sense of the latest twist in the estrogen debate . <b>9</b> :	1
TECHNOLOGY: The first high-definition DVDs arrive9:	2

PEOPLE: Fishburne's Othello; double-a-list celebs	5
ESSAY: Ana Marie Cox on Mu Super Sweet 16 9	6

COVER: Photo-Illustration for TIME by Arthur Hochstein Inset painting: Christ in Crown of Thorns in the stule of Dieric Bouts from the Granger Collection. Calligraphy by Liam Quin



Pennsylvania bulldog Arlen Specter and Maine centrist Olympia Snowe are both on our list of 10 Best Senators. (Don't worry, we also compiled a list of the Five Worst)





A How will Hanks'. Tautou's and Mona's film handle Opus Dei? ■ An altar inside the society's New York City

headquarters

COVER

The Da Vinci Code turned the conservative household-and murderous-name. On the eve of the movie's premiere, TIME takes an intimate look at how this fascinating, mysterious





His wife's packages of clean laundry led police to Sicilian Mafia head Bernardo Provenzano

size chunks of fame are now within the grasp of any geek with a camcorder, a computer and an e-mail account



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Voices from Juvenile Detention, won the Robert F. Kennedy Journalism Award for outstanding reporting on disadvantaged people. See his essay at time.com/liss



POLITICS AND WAR Setting the "Rumsfeld rebellion" in context, historian Doris Kearns Goodwin explores relations between generals and their Presidents from Lincoln to Johnson in a time.com Q&A this week



IN PRAYER: A men's chapel service at the group's headquarters

## Opening Up Opus Dei

There's more on time.com about the secretive Roman Catholic organization that is the subject of this week's cover story, including a PHOTO GALLERY of scenes from inside the group's New York City headquarters; correspondent David Thigpen's visit to its CHICAGO CENTER; and a chance to ask David Van Biema, writer of this week's story, vour own questions, at time.com/askdavid

#### QUOTES OF THE DAY

New on time.com: the best quotes from newsmakers — and the talk shows too

41 like working on it because it's not a particularly sexy topic. But I've already had enough headlines to last me five lifetimes.77 —Bill Clinton, referring to his work in the developing





Check out past stories on each of the 10 U.S. Senators who were named this week as the nation's best (like Ted Kennedy, above,

(like Ted Kennedy, above from 1962). And give us your feedback: What do you think of your U.S. Senators?

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## **VIRAL VIDEOS: FROM YOUR TUBE TO YOU**









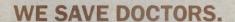
Lev Grossman's magazine story this week takes a look at people who get famous fast, thanks to a new medium, the viral video. Check out the videos the singles out as the best of the new genre—including a break dancer, right, busting limpossible moves, and a parody, top right, of Brokeback Mountain with Back to the Future stars—at time-convivanNideo





TAKE THE QUIZ Who was the band U2

honoring with its song Walk
On? Which hero has fought for
childhood vaccinations? Test
your knowledge of the world's
most influential people—and
vote on who you think should
be on TIME's list this year at
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# John Negroponte

ambassador to Iraq, to become America's symaster. It's not easy to run the sprawling, 844 billion U.S. intelligence community, especially with powers that are in many ways less than his responsibilities—and Negroponte, 66, wants critics to know it's a work in progress. America's first director of national intelligence sat down in Washington for a progress check with Thur's Michael Duffy and Timothy J. Burger.

Is the intelligence the President gets every day any better than it was a year ago? First of all, I think it's good. And second, we've worked hard on making improvements, particularly in the area of analysis. We're also working hard to better validate our sources [and] improve our tradecraft. The President has put out the order that we should increase our humint-our human intelligence and analytical capabilities-over the next five years. and we've got a program well under way to achieve that. So, yeah, I think it's improving, and we intend to improve it more.

Is our intelligence on tran better than it was on Iraq? It's good. It's solid. And I think ... what we've tried to improve since the wsn fiasco is building the safeguards. You have to build in different ways of double checking. You've got a team out there that takes the alternative hypothesis and tries to prove it with the same set of facts.

When do we think I ran could have the Bomb, and do we know where they're building it? The assessment has been somewhere at the beginning of the next decade, between 2010 [and] 2015. This remains the assessment. Intelligence that was obtained from Iran showed that they may have been trying to conceptualize how to adapt one of their missiles to a nuclear weapon, It is cause for



concern. Certainly, we know where the key installations are, the ones that have been monitored by the International Atomic Energy Agency— Isfahan and Natanz. Are there others that we're not aware of at all? You don't know what you don't know.

So just what is your job? I try to put in one sentence what I think our job is about. And what I say is that our job is to effectively integrate foreign, military

and domestic intelligence in defense of the homeland and of U.S. interests abroad.

Are the agencies that weren't sharing information before 9/11 better at it now? Everybody's on their toes. And I think the system has been set up in such a way now that the American people can be reassured that somebody is always watching. Any information that has a bearing on a domestic homeland threat that is acquired in

Waziristan or Baghdad—you can be sure that [if] people who have a responsibility for defending the homeland should have [that information], a way is going to be found to get it to them dam fast.

President Bush wants more human spies. How's that going? We're beefing up in places where we hadn't been, where we'd allowed things to atrophy after the end of the cold war in Latin America and Africa.

We understand you are making a catalog of all U.S. Intelligence assets. Will you be picking station chiefs? Station chiefs are for [Cat Director] Potrer Goss to choose. I am not interested in directing operations. I arm not interested in having field commanders. That's the job of the individual agency heads. Am I interested in what they're doing? You're darn right I am.

The Pentagon wasn't keen about your office when Congress created it. Hes that changed? It is by definition a joint exercise. I think it works well. I don't see I think it works well. I don't see how the relationship could be better, and I think the division of labor is very clearly understood.

What is the endgame for the three dozen or so high-value detainces? I'm not going to get into that one really. You know, these people are being held. And they're bad actors. And as long as this war on terror continues, I'm not sure I can tell you what the ultimate disposition of those detainers will be.

Is this work harder than putting a country back together? It's very different. One is a foreign ambassadorship, you're dealing with a foreign culture [and] nation building. This has to do with the organization of our own government and working in an interagency environment. I've done both fieldwork and homework. And this is homework.

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the five people

## **Earth at the Tipping Point**

Environmentalists and green-leaning readers applauded the urgency of our special report, which argued that the debate is over—global warming has tipped the climate of the planet into crisis. But others called our stories alarmist and questioned whether humanity can affect the forces of nature

YOUR SPECIAL REPORT ON GLOBAL WARMing [April 3] was thoroughly terrifying, for which I thank you. For too long has this issue been casually dismissed as a problem to be dealt with in the future. Why fret about a seemingly distant catastrophe when there exists a plethora of world-destroying crises to be worried about? Your report excellently detailed the many negative effects of global warming and, more important, stressed its immediacy. As a young person, I'm well aware that it is my generation to which many corporations and politicians wish to relegate this burden, and my generation will suffer the consequences of today's recklessness. I am especially frustrated by the Bush Administration's harmful environmental policies. Thank you for your efforts to educate the public about the threat of global warming, a threat more imminent than many have believed.

> HANNAH JEWELL San Rafael, Calif.

THERE HAVE BEEN CYCLES OF GLOBAL warming and cooling since the world began. But trying to convince people that doom is just around the corner is irresponsible. They wants us to believe that Bush is the cause of the impending catastrophe, but the fact is, even the Clinton Administration never submitted the Kyoto treaty to the Senate for ratification. Can anyone imagine China, India or any other country renouncing the use of fossil fuels in sufficient quantities to make a difference?

JACK FOLEY Moore, Okla.

AS A CITIZEN OF A COUNTRY THAT SIGNED the Kyoto treatly. I read TIME'S cover headline urging me to be worried, and I thought, Don't tell me. Tell your Presidentl Send a copy of your magazine to Bush on behalf of us Europeans. He is not listening to us. Maybe he has an ear for you, and will finally urge the U.S. Congress to ratify the treaty.

PIETER WALRAVEN Aix-en-Provence, France



44We can't halt global warming if we act like parents waiting up for a teenager out past curfew. We have to be proactive.

VALERIE FONS Dowagiac, Mich.

TIME'S COVER PHOTO OF A POLAR BEAR among shrinking ice floes broke my heart. Thanks for perfectly capturing a simple, real-life symptom of a complicated problem. We humans have to take responsibility for how our lifestyle affects the innocents around us. I know I'm motivated to do better.

MATTHEW M. COOPER Eugene, Ore.

THANK YOU, TIME, FOR YOUR EFFORTS TO save our planet! Your cover story on global warming should send a message to policymakers around the world that those of us who have called on our leaders to take action to save Planet Earth have not been crying wolf. Climate

change is creating catastrophic and nasty conditions. As I write, my town is installing solar-power panels on our townhall building. Every government on the planet must start thinking globally and acting locally.

PAUL FEINER, TOWN SUPERVISOR Greenburgh, N.Y.

THE REPORT ON CLOBAL WARMING MAKES a convincing case that our planet is getting hotter, but shouldn't we at least be considering the possibility that we are going through a natural cycle that we can't stop or lessen? Reducing carbon dioxide may be a good idea, but shouldn't we also be thinking about how we can adapt to environmental change, as all species have had to do at some point?

CHARLES W. MEYER Fremont, Calif.

PLEASE DO NOT ADVISE US TO "BE WORried." We can't halt global warming if we act like parents waiting up for a teenager out past curfew. We have to be proactive. We must make radical changes in the way we live, not just wring our hands while watching the catastrophe unfold.

Dowagiac, Mich.

#### Iran and the Bomb

IN HIS ESSAY "TODAY TEHRAN, TOMORROW the World" [April 3], Charles Krauthammer stereotyped Iranians as followers of an "extreme and fanatical ideology" who would wield nuclear power recklessly. He argued that while good sense has kept other nations from using the atom bomb, Iran, "undeterred by the usual calculations of prudence and selfpreservation," can't be trusted to respond that way. But Iranians are not suicidal. They know that they could be wiped out in a retaliatory attack. And Krauthammer neglected to mention that only the U.S. has used the Bomb. The real problem is the tyranny of established nuclear powers that bully and invade nonnuclear nations. REEM NASR

South Brunswick, N.I.



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#### SEMESTER BREAK



on the student protests in Paris reported that the rebels lacked the revolutionary optimism of those who shut down the Sorbonne in 1968, TIME

devoted a cover story to that strike, the start of a revolt that changed history [May 31, 1968]:

'In a swirl of red flags, black anarchist flags, Cuban flags and Viet Cong flags, nonstop political talk-ins began in the Sorbonne's quadrangle. More or less revolutionary graffiti soon appeared on the sandstone walls: DON'T LOOK BACK NOW, GOD, BUT THE WORLD IS COLLAPSING BEHIND YOU! THE MORE I MAKE REVOLUTION THE MORE I WANT TO MAKE LOVE! Shaken and scared, the university called in the police, and in the bloody fighting that followed, the students gained their rallying causeand the overnight sympathy of much of France. Alarmed, Premier Georges Pompidou, acting as (President Charles] De Gaulle's regent while the general was off on an ill-timed state visit to Rumania, called off the police, let the students roam freely through the Latin Quarter. Then the lesson of the Left Bank dawned on the leadership of France's workers: that a few thousand students had forced the Gaullist regime to back down. Within hours, a spontaneous reaction swept all across France ... " Read more at timearchive.com.

KRAUTHAMMER TOOK A CLEAR LOOK AT the mind of Iranian President Ahmadineiad, who has stated that Israel should be wiped off the map. Was that declaration empty rhetoric or a sincere vow? For the sake of the world, I pray that Ahmadinejad's words are just words.

LEO KHANG MENG Kuala Lumpur

THE HUMAN RACE HAS LOST ALL REASON IF we think any nation can be trusted with nuclear weapons. But then, had reason dictated, all nuclear weapons and the tools used to make them would have been destroyed right after Hiroshima. Sooner or later, whether by the hand of Iran, North Korea, Pakistan or even the U.S., those evil creations are going to be used again. It is sad that reason will prevail only if it is knocked into us.

> KATIE O'FLYNN Dublin

#### Afghan Intolerance

RE "A CONVERT'S PLIGHT" [APRIL 3], ON THE case of Abdul Rahman, the Afghan who was prosecuted for converting to Christianity and eventually found asylum in Italy: As a British-born Muslim with royal Afghan ancestry, I find it deeply disturbing that Rahman was treated unfairly because of a corrupt interpretation of Islamic law. No one should be forced to accept Islam, for submitting to coercion is not the same as heartfelt acceptance. Such misuse of Islamic law affects Muslims as much as it affects non-Muslims.

SYED ANSAR KHAN Wimbledon, England

FOLLOWERS OF OTHER RELIGIONS WHO convert to another faith are not subject to such draconian and medieval penalties. Although the vast majority of Muslims are undoubtedly tolerant and happy to live in peace with their neighbors and those of other faiths, Islam lends itself to corruption by fundamentalist extremists who twist its teachings to serve their own perverted ends.

ROBERT READMAN Bournemouth, England

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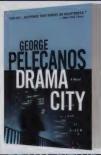
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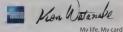
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# Who Should Be Among This Year's Picks for the TIME 100?

To help make the selection, TIME asked earlier honorees whom they would select as the world's most influential people. This week's installment:



EVAN WOLFSON

The same-est-marriage advocate is executive director of Freedom to Marry Senator Russ Felingold should be on the list for putting forward values and policies before the American people and olfering Democrats a chance to return to the clarity and authenticity needed to regain power. From his opposition to the war in Iraq to his support for endling the exclusion of committed same-sex couples from marriage, he is emerging as the one to watch as the political pendulum swings.



BRAM COHEN

Creation of BitTorrent, the world's most popular open-source file-sharing software I nominate Steven Soderbergh, director, writer and producer, who broke Hollywood dogma by releasing his movie Bubble simultaneously in theaters, on cable TV and DVD. He's willing to experiment with new technologies to deliver what consumers want. Also William Poundstone, whose book Fortune's Formula gives a readable explanation of how investing for the most profit inherently involves roller-coaster downturns. It's an inschiful analysis.



DAVE EGGERS

The best-selling author and McSweeney's founder is also a social-work entrepreneur. I nominate John Prendergast. He is a lucid and vocal "explainer" of what's happening in Darfur and what needs to be done. He has been working in Sudan for 20 years and has been instrumental in mobilizing Americans to get involved on a grass-roots level. Also Shinin Meshat, who is making some of the most riveting art about the Muslim world. It's majestic, timeless, frighthening and even prophetic.



PETER SINGER

The Princeton biochics professor is coauthor of the forthcoming book Ithe Way We East Why Our Food Choices Matter I nominate Jethey Sachs and Beno for setting the world an achievable goal that is also a moral imperative: the end of extreme poverty by 2025. They made that an issue the 2005 C-8 summit had to take up. Though the measures adopted there were less dramatic than many hoped, if the rhetoric is turned into reality, it will make a huge difference for hundreds of millions of the world's poorst people.

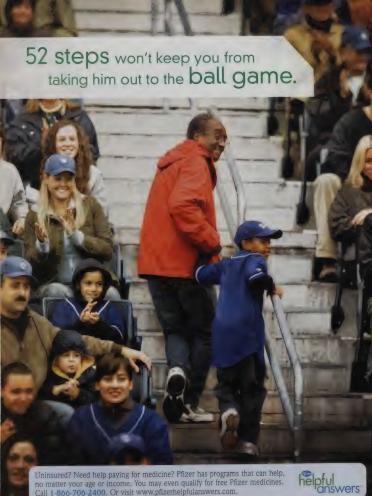
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# You don't have to plan around your arthritis pain.

Is it the stairs you climb? The events you attend? Or the people you visit? If you have osteoarthritis, it colors everything you do. But you shouldn't have to miss out on the important things. Ask your doctor about prescription CELEBREX. It was designed to target the source of your pain, stiffness, and inflammation.

Just one CELEBREX provides 24-hour, all day and all night relief.

CELEBREX is one of the most studied arthritis medicines on the market. But you should know that CELEBREX, like all medicines, has both risks and benefits. It's important to talk to your doctor about treatment options to find out which one is right for you. Your doctor may also recommend other kinds of treatments.

Important Information: CELEBREX may increase the chance of a heart attack or stroke that can lead to death. It should not be used right before or after certain heart surgeries. Serious skin reactions or stomach and intestine problems such as bleeding and ulcers can occur without warning and may cause death.

Patients taking aspirin and the elderly are at increased risk for stomach bleeding and ulcers.

Tell your doctor if you:

- · Are pregnant
- Have a history of ulcers or bleeding in the stomach or intestines
- · Have high blood pressure or heart failure
- · Have kidney or liver problems

People with aspirin-sensitive asthma or allergic reactions due to aspirin or other arthritis medicines or certain drugs called sulfonamides should not take CELEBREX.

Prescription CELEBREX should be used exactly as prescribed at the lowest dose possible and for the shortest time needed.

For more information, call 1-888-CELEBREX (1-888-235-3273) or visit www.CELEBREX.com

Please see important information about CELEBREX and other NSAIDs on next page.



#### **CELEBREX®**

#### Medication Guide

for Non-Steroidal Anti-Inflammatory Drugs (NSAIDs) (See the end of this Medication Guide for a list of prescription NSAID medicines.)

What is the most important information I should know about medicines called Non-Steroidal Anti-Inflammatory Drugs (NSAIDs)? NSAID medicines may increase the chance of a heart attack or stroke

that can lead to death.

- This chance increases: · with longer use of NSAID medicines
- · in people who have heart disease

NSAID medicines should never be used right before or after a heart surgery called a "coronary artery bypass graft (CABG)." NSAID medicines can cause ulcers and bleeding in the stomach and intestines at any time during treatment. Ulcers and bleeding:

- · can happen without warning symptoms
- · may cause death

The chance of a person getting an ulcer or bleeding increases with: · taking medicines called "corticosteroids" and "anticoagulants"

- · longer use
- smoking
- drinking alcohol
- · older age
- · having poor health

#### NSAID medicines should only be used:

- · exactly as prescribed
- at the lowest dose possible for your treatment
- · for the shortest time needed

#### What are Non-Steroidal Anti-Inflammatory Drugs (NSAIDs)?

NSAID medicines are used to treat pain and redness, swelling, and heat (inflammation) from medical conditions such as:

- · different types of arthritis
- · menstrual cramps and other types of short-term pain

#### Who should not take a Non-Steroidal Anti-Inflammatory Drug (NSAID)? Do not take an NSAID medicine:

- · if you had an asthma attack, hives, or other allergic reaction with aspirin or any other NSAID medicine
- · for pain right before or after heart bypass surgery

#### Tell your healthcare provider:

- · about all of your medical conditions.
- about all of the medicines you take. NSAIDs and some other medicines can interact with each other and cause serious side effects. Keep a list of your medicines to show to your health care provider and pharmacist.
- if you are pregnant. NSAID medicines should not be used by pregnant women late in their pregnancy.
- · if you are breastfeeding. Talk to your doctor.

#### What are the possible side effects of Non-Steroidal Anti-Inflammatory Drugs (NSAIDs)?

#### Serious side effects include: · heart attack

- · stroke

asthma

- · high blood pressure · heart failure from body swelling
- (fluid retention)
- · kidney problems including kidney failure
- · bleeding and ulcers in the
- stomach and intestine
- · low red blood cells (anemia)
- · life-threatening skin reactions · life-threatening allergic reactions
- · liver problems including liver failure · asthma attacks in people who have

- Other side effects include: · diarrhea
- · stomach pain
- · gas
- heartburn nausea
- · vomitino
- · dizziness

#### Get emergency help right away if you have any of the following symptoms:

- · shortness of breath or trouble · slurred speech
- breathing · swelling of the face or throat · chest pain
- · weakness in one part or side of

#### Stop your NSAID medicine and call your healthcare provider right away if you have any of the following symptoms:

- nausea . there is blood in your bowel
- · more tired or weaker than usual movement or it is black and sticky · itching
- like tar · your skin or eyes look yellow
  - · skin rash or blisters with fever · unusual weight gain
    - · swelling of the arms and legs,
- hands and feet These are not all the side effects with NSAID medicines. Talk to your healthcare provider or pharmacist for more information about NSAID medicines.

#### Other information about Non-Steroidal Anti-Inflammatory Drugs (NSAIDs)

 Aspirin is an NSAID medicine but it does not increase the chance of a heart attack. Aspirin can cause bleeding in the brain, stomach, and intestines, Aspirin can also cause ulcers in the stomach and intestines

. Some of these NSAID medicines are sold in lower doses without a prescription (over-the-counter). Talk to your healthcare provider before using over-the-counter NSAIDs for more than 10 days.

#### NSAID medicines that need a prescription

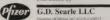
· stomach pain

· vomit blood

· flu-like symptoms

Generic Name	Tradename
Celecoxib	Celebrex
Diclofenac	Cataflam, Voltaren, Arthrotec (combined with misoprostol)
Diflunisal	Dolobid
Etodolac	Lodine, Lodine XL
Fenoprofen	Nalfon, Nalfon 200
Flurbiprofen	Ansaid
Ibuprofen	Motrin, Tab-Profen, Vicoprofen (combined with hydrocodone), Combunox (combined with oxycodone
Indomethacin	Indocin, Indocin SR, Indo-Lemmon, Indomethagan
Ketoprofen	Oruvail
Ketorolac	Toradol
Mefenamic Acid	Ponstel
Meloxicam	Mobic
Nabumetone	Relaten
Naproxen	Naprosyn, Anaprox, Anaprox DS, EC-Naproxyn, Naprelan, Naprapac (copackaged with lansoprazole)
Oxaprozin	Daypro
Piroxicam	Feldene
Sulindac	Clinoril
Tolmetin	Tolectin, Tolectin DS, Tolectin 600

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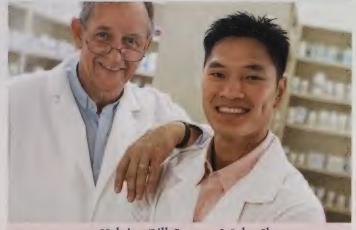
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TIME

# NoteBook



# **HU'S COMING TO LUNCH**

HEN PLANNING BEGAN IN earnest last summer for this week's visit by Chinese President Hu lintao to the U.S., Beijing was offered what, to other leaders, might seem tantalizing: the intimacy of a visit to the Bush ranch or Camp David. But the Chinese wanted the pomp of a formal White House welcome. And so they will get it-but with a "social lunch," not the state dinner they had desired. "We haven't had many state dinners," a White House official says, "and we think everything we do is special." Still, in the careful dance of diplomacy, such signals matter. The U.S. has an "aspiration to improve relations," says Michael Green. former National Security Council director for Asia and now a senior adviser at the Center for Strategic & International

Studies. "[But] we also don't want to give China a free pass."

That caution seems fitting for a relationship that while relatively warm, is being tested by a multitude of

tricky issues. Atop
Bush's agenda: the
swelling U.S. trade
deficit with China
which is more
than \$200 billion a
year. Bush is expected to prod the
to allow China's

currency to rise, making U.S. goods cheaper, imports from China more expensive and the trade imbalance less lopsided. Iran, which said last week

that it had mastered uranium enrichment, will also be on the table. China has hinted that it might use its Security Council veto to block possible economic sanctions against Tehran. Green expects "Hu will be under some pressure [from Bush] to signal that China's patience is wearing thin."

For his part, "Hu wants to show a smiling face to the public in the U.S. and say, 'We like you very much,' "says Jin Canrong, an international-relations professor at Peijing's

Renmin University, who expects Hu to try to allay concerns about the trade deficit. Toward that end, Beijing sent an

advance team to

spread the kind of

goodwill Americans can take to the bank—a 200-strong delegation led by Vice Premier Wu Yi that has plans to ink contracts for about \$16 billion in U.S. goods, including Microsoft software and up to 80 Boeing jets.—By Matthew Copper and

Simon Elegant. With reporting by

Mike Allen and Elaine Shannon



UPDATE

## Harriet Miers, Hard at Work

TER HARRIET MIERS ASKED President George W. Bush to withdraw her nomination to the Supreme Court on Oct. 27, she went back to the second floor of the West Wing and resumed her job as White House counsel that afternoon. She had snarked a conservative revolt against the Bush Administration and got withering reviews from some Republican Senators, but that was over. "There was a lot of work to do, and I sort of turned to [it]," she told TIME in her first interview with a national publication since her withdrawal.

Back at Bush's side. Miers is one of the dwindling number of longtime Texas confidants still at the White House at this time of upheaval. The loyalty is reciprocal-Bush was still hot months later about how she was treated, viewing her as a victim of snobby élitists. To White House officials. Miers is a quiet workaholic who got an inexcusably raw deal. To some outsiders, her name remains synonymous with Administration missteps-a conservative columnist called the Dubai Ports debacle a "Harriet Miers moment."



Miers, 60, declines to cast blame for her nominations demise, preferring to "leave all that for other people to analyze." Her brothers were upset by the uglier comments about her, but she professes no bitterness. "Many aspects of that process were very enriching and very enjoyable," she says, pointing to her discussions with Senators and reconsisions with Senators and reconnections with childhood friends who called and wrote. "I'm grateful to all the people who were very supportive. It was a lengthy process, but it allowed me time to focus on the importance of the court," she says. "I can't imagine, for a lawyer, a more meaningful opportunity."

Miers, who hasn't had a vacation other than Christmas since well before the Supreme Court episode, hopes to take some time with her family in May-although "nothing grand." She gives unpaid speeches to bar associations and will speak at a law-school commencement next month. How about writing a book? "I can't imagine anything past the current responsibilities." she says. Her work, after all, is of national importance. Take her first major task after her withdrawal: she helped prepare the nomination four days later of Samuel Alito Ir., who wound up getting the job. -By Mike Allen



66 Our answer to those who are angry about Iran obtaining the full nuclear cycle is one phrase.

We say: Be angry, and die of this anger. \*\*)

MAHMOUD AHMADINEIAD, President of Iran, following his announcement that Iran had successfully enriched uranium

66 From an Islamic point of view, we have to be a superpower, and we have to be above you, and you have to be subdued. 39

ZACARIAS MOUSSAOUI, admitted al-Qaeda conspirator.

66 For Pete's sake, if you can't trust your Supreme Court Justice more than that, get a life. >>

ANTONIN SCALIA, Supreme Court Justice, defending his decision not to recuse himself from a 2004 case involving Vice President Dick Cheney, with whom he had gone hunting

66 I'm blown away ... I'm so excited that Tom DeLay would say that about me. >>

PATRICK MCHENRY, North Carolina Republican who at 30 is the youngest member of Congress, after the former House majority leader named him one of three House members with the conservative credentials to become the "next Tom DeLau"

66 Don't think of me as a 14-year-old, since all these troubles have made me older; I won't regret my actions. I'll behave the way I think I should!

ANNE FRANK, in a 1944 letter to her father that was released last week protesting after she was forbidden to spend time alone with a young man who was hiding from the Nazis with the Franks in Amsterdam during World War II

66 Maybe beauty is the final step to end violence and preach world peace after all, 39

TAMAR GOREGIAN, winner of the Iraq Queen of Beauty pageant. in her acceptance speech, four days before extremists threats prompted her resignation. The second and third runners-up declined the crown, and the current queen is in hiding

66 In New Orleans, we're not down with Michael Brown. We were glad when he left town. 39

OLIVER THOMAS, New Orleans council president, on the decision of neighboring St. Bernard Parish to consider hiring the former chief of the Federal Emergency Management Agency as a consultant

SPEED READ

## Pain at The Pump

Bad news for drivers: gas prices this summer are expected to be more than 10% higher than last summer and may exceed \$3 per gal. in some parts of the U.S., the Energy Department estimates. Here's a look at why:

What's fueling the price rise? Growing global demand and investors spooked by political tensions in the Middle East have pushed crude-oil prices up. Gasoline production in the U.S. is down 9%

compared with 2005, as hurricane-damaged refineries struggle to return to full production. Finally, changes in energy laws are prompting fuel suppliers to use corn-based ethanol as an additive to help gas burn more cleanly, instead

of the additive MBTE, which has health risks. But ethanol supply problems have raised gas prices.

Isant \$3 per gal. a lot?
Yes—and prices may
approach the all-time
inflation-adjusted high of 83. 12 per gal, set in 1981.
Do higher prices help
anyone? Oil companies are
tallying record-high profits.
Their exces are cashing in
too. ExxonMobil disclosed
last week that Lee Raymond, who retired as its
CEO in January, earned
\$69,7 million—\$190,000 a
dav—in 2009.

Are people cutting back on driving? Apparently not. The Energy Department predicts U.S. motorists' total gasoline usage this summer will be 1.5% higher than in 2005 because of a growing economy and more cars on the road.

What might push prices down? Prices could drop as refineries recover. A resolution to the nuclear-research standoff with oil-producing Iran would calm nervous markets, as would stability in Nigeria, a major oil supplier whose production has been hit by strikes and political unrest.—By Kathleen Klingsbury

48 Terms Th

These This

## SILVIO'S BEST HITS

PHINE MINISTER SILMO
Berlusconi of Italy lost a
squeaker of an election
Last week to Romano Prodi.
The defeat ends the conservative Berlusconi's five-year
rule—Italy's longest since
World War II—which was
peppered with his offhand,
sometimes offensive
remarks. Here's a look at
some of the most
memorable.—By Jenine
Lee-St. John and left Israely

#### ON HIS GOVERNMENT

**66** We have worked a lot. Only Napoleon did more than me—but I am certainly taller than him.



#### ON HIS LEADERSHIP STYLE

**66** I am the Jesus Christ of politics. I am a patient victim, I put up with everyone, I sacrifice myself for everyone. 39

#### ON THE ITALIAN JUDICIARY

"Those judges are doubly mad! In the first place, because they are politically mad, and in the second place, because they are mad anyway."



#### ON ITALY'S FASCIST DICTATOR BENITO MUSSOLINI

66 Mussolini never killed anyone ... [he] used to send people on vacation in internal exile. 39

#### ON THE PERKS OF INVESTING IN ITALY

(Citaly is now a great country to invest in ... Today we have fewer communists, and those who are still there deny having been one.

Another reason to invest in Italy is that we have beautiful secretaries ... superb girls.

## NoteBook

## The Arc of The Covenant

HE TYPICAL ROUTE TO THE top of the New York Times best-seller list takes an author to swank Manhattan publishing luncheons and the morning talk-show circuit. But radio and TV host Tavis Smiley, editor of The Covenant with Black America-a manifesto by prominent African-Americans. including former Surgeon General David Satcher and Princeton professor Cornel

next week's nonfiction paper-back list-just went to church. Published in February by the small black-owned Third World Press, the Covenant has sold 250,000 copies, many on Smiley's barnstorming tour of African-

West, that will

reach No. 1 on

copies, many on Smiley's barnstorming tour of African-American congregations around the U.S. Each revival-like meeting has drawn hundreds—in some cities, thousands—with

many in the audience buying armloads of books to give to friends and relatives. The book is a nonpartisan agenda for black progress. Its prescriptions range from the individual—"Invest in a home computer"—



to the societal—"Strengthen the Voting Rights Act." The Covenant's success may have surprised the publishing world but not Smiley, who says,

"There is a hunger and a thirst on the part of black people for leadership—a blueprint, a game plan, a guidebook, for how to make black America better." —By Andrea Sachs

## YOUR CALL IS IMPORTANT

mitt last week, Dereck Shetton was early unreachable. Homeless for the past year, Shetton had no phone number to give to friends, family and potential employers. "People in a position to hier make luighments about a person without a phone," he says. "They don't take that person seriously." That may change, thanks to Project C.A.R.E., a new program run by the San Francisco communications a barting GrandCentral. C.A.R.E. is plan in the property of the person of the homeless people free permanent numbers, which go to wick and thouse. The plan may be thewarded, though, by the voicemail bosses. The plan may be threated though, by the voicemail bosses. The plan may be threated though, by the standard of the plan may be compared to the plan of the plan may be considered to the plan of the plan



says the tax would make his model "economically impossible." Ironically, funds raised by the tax would go to the Universal Service Fund, which subsidizes phone service for poor households. —By Rebecca Myers

The state of the s

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#### NUMBERS

25% Drop in the number of prosecutions in which the FBI was the lead investigator, from 2001 to '05

300% Increase in the number of FBI-led prosecutions regarding national security or terrorism in the same period

3 ft. Height that homes in New Orleans will have to be raised to qualify for flood insurance and federal rebuilding funds

2/3 Proportion of New Orleans homeowners who had flood insurance when Katrina hit, in contrast to 30% of Mississippians whose homes were damaged by the storm

**62%** Portion of college Republicans in a poll who say religion is losing its influence on American life; about 87% of them say the apparent decline is a "bad thing"

54% Portion of college Democrats who say religion's influence on American life is increasing; two-thirds of them think the perceived growing sway of faith is a "bad thing"

\$50 million Amount paid by media entrepreneur Robert Silterman for an 80% state in legendary boxer All's name, image and likeness

\$7 million Estimated profits generated annually by Ali's name, image and likeness

9% Decline in the number of foreign visitors to the U.S. last year, compared with 2000

17% Growth in the number of international travelers worldwide over the same period

Sources: USA Today (2); New Orleans Times-Picayum (2); Harvard Institute of Politics (2); New York: Times (2); USA Today (2) PUNCHLINES





66 Did you hear what happened at the Washington Nationals

game? Dick Cheney was there: he threw out the first pitch and was booed. He said he was surprised—he thought he'd be greeted as a liberator with flowers and candy. 70 DAND LETTERMAN

64 President Bush today announced a new fitness plan to get people walking. It's called Gasoline at \$3 a Gallon, 39 MY LENO 66 Scientists have discovered a fossil of a 375 million-year-old fish with a reptilian jaw and a swiveling neck that they say is a long-sought missing link between fish and walking land creatures. Disturbingly, they found it in a Red Lobster fried-seafood platter. 37 THA FEY





wrote an editorial in the Wall Street Journal calling for immigration reform. In the editorial Arnold complains that too many immigrants are sneaking into the country and becoming Governors."

66 Arnold Schwarzenegger

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# Why a Certified Pre-Owned BMW is better than a brand new compromise.



#### ■ Certified Pre-Owned =

Certified by BMW trained technicians

Backed by BMW for up to 6 years or 100,000 miles

BMW Roadsid

BMW Financial Services leasing and financing There is greatness and there is newness. Which would you choose? If you choose the legendary performance of a BMW over well, the feeting newness of some other car, drive a Certified Pre-Owned BMW. The price has been engineered down to size, but this thrill of the Usinate Driving Machine is intact. Experience the excitement that lives in every part and piece of a BMW, but seems absent in an ordinary car. Drive with your head.





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#### Milestones

RELEASED. The autopsy results of James Zadroga, 34, New York City police detective who, after the 9/11 attacks, spent 470 hours sifting through the dusty ruins of the World Trade Center's Twin Towers in search of victims' remains. and who died Jan. 6 of respiratory failure; showing that Zadroga had "innumerable foreign body granules" in his lungs and that his death was "directly related" to his post-9/11 efforts, the first known fatality attributed to such work.



A DIED, June Pointer, 52, who. with her siblings, formed the Grammy-winning pop group the Pointer Sisters and recorded such '80s megahits as lump (For Mu Love) and I'm So Excited; of

cancer: in Los Angeles. The sisters' success waned after the 1983 release of their 3 million-selling album Break Out, and in 2003 June-who struggled with drug addiction and her mental healthwas replaced by her niece.

DIED. William Woo, 69, courtly. aggressive journalist who in 1986 became the first Asian American to lead a major U.S. newspaper when he was named editor of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch; of colorectal cancer; in Palo Alto, Calif.

DIED. Frank Gibney, 81, author and former TIME correspondent who gave wary Americans some of the first accessible, textured portraits of Japan after World War II; in Santa Barbara, Calif. Among the former Navv intelligence officer's books were Five Gentlemen of Japan and The Pacific Century. which in the early 1990s became an Emmy-winning documentary.

DIED. Vilgot Sjoman, 81, maverick Swedish film director and protégé of Ingmar Bergman whose taboochallenging, sexually explicit 1967 film I Am Curious (Yellow) was briefly banned by U.S. censors before going on to become the most profitable foreign film in America until 1994, when Like

Water for Chocolate broke the record: in Stockholm.

> DIED. Muriel Spark, 88, British author of poetry, short stories and more than 20 novels whose ele-



often satirical writing explored morality and perceptions of truth: in Florence, Italy, A Foreign Office propagandist

during World War II, Spark converted to Catholicism in 1954 and credited her faith for "inner stability which enables me to write hetter." Her best-known novel. The Prime of Miss lean Brodie (1961). about an eccentric, Mussoliniworshipping teacher at a girls' school, was based on Spark's Edinburgh school days, Maggie Smith won an Oscar for playing the title role in the 1969 film.

V DIED. Helen Cohn, 92, who helped her husband and business partner Nudie create garish, rhinestone-studded garb favored by glittery entertainers from the 1940s to the '80s: in Valencia. Calif. Among their most famous creations was a \$10,000 gold lamé suit for Elvis Presley (the profit for Nudie's Rodeo Tailors: \$9.950). The ensembles were most popular among country stars like Roy Rogers and Buck Owens, who wore Nudies to their graves. The Cohns' motto: "It's better to be looked over than overlooked."





YEARS AGO IN TIME

Even at the start of DONALD **RUMSFELD's first stint as** U.S. Secretary of Defense. under President Gerald Ford, he was known for his brusque manner, and he inspired doubts among top Pentagon officials



He projects an air of aloof ness: he also creates the impression that he is too clever by half, that he coolly evaluates everyone he sees. "Each time you meet him, it's for the first time, 'says a White House aide. Yet counterbalance to Ford's fondness for relaxed good fellowship. The two men get along well .. The Pentagon's top officers are waiting Rumsfeld to take on his sixth Administration job in six years. He has not yet shown the necessary breadth of intellect to handle an assignment as complex and demanding as running the nation's defenses. Even his admirers tend to describe him in terms of his infighting; only after they that he is also smart and able, TIME, Nov. 17, 1975

Read the entire article at time.com/years



civil-rights agitator who shot to national fame in the late 1960s as the scooter-riding, antiwar chaplain of Yale University: in Strafford, Vt. The United Church of Christ minister, known for having been arrested in the South during civil-rights protests in the early '60s, rankled Washington politicians. with his voluble attacks on the Vietnam War. In 1968, he was convicted with Dr. Benjamin Spock for conspiracy to encourage draft evasion, after Coffin delivered to the Justice Department more than 100 draft cards they had collected at antiwar railies. (The conviction was later overturned.) An early supporter of gay rights and the basis for the "thoroughly modern" minister Scot Sloan in the comic strip Doonesbury. Coffin said part of his job was to be a "disturber of the peace."

# THE WE'RE ALL ON A DIFFERENT PAGE ERA IS OVER. Microsoft' Office has evolved. Have you? After all, the way we work has changed. These days, the bigger the team, the harder it is to work together. That's why the latest version of Microsoft Office allows easy access to Team Workspaces. Step up to a world where shared locations hold documents, schedules, tasks, and announcements. It's time to evolve the way you work. Discover how at microsoft.com/office/evolve It's time to upgrade our Office 97, Brilliant. Microsoft\* Office Your potential. Our passion." licrosoft

#### Joe Klein

# Why Newt Is So Much Fun to Watch

OW MANY OF YOU HAVE EVER USED AN AUTOMATIC BANK machine overseas? Newt Gingrich asks, and since this is a pretty affluent New Hampshire audience, a fair number of people raise their hand. "Do you get impatient waiting for the money? four'e 4,674 miles from home, in a foreign banking system, and there's your money, in Its econds on average. Now, say you're a small-business owner wiped out by Hurricane Katrina. How long does it take the Federal Government to respond to your emergency loan application? More than II weeks, on average ... Katrina was a decisive moment for our country, It proved that our government is broken. We need real change, and here's my new slogan: Real change means real change, Your experiences dealing with the government need to be more like the experiences in the rest of your life—more like us-

ing an automated bank machine."

It's almost always a joy listening to Gingrich when he's on a tear. And he's almost always on a tear of some sort. I caught up with Newt as he wandered around New Hampshire last week, which is what people who think they're running for President do. Please, God, no, you say. Not that angry guy again. "He's probably carrying too much baggage to be President," said Peter Bergin, a Republican state representative from Amherst, N.H. "But he sure is a terrific idea

man. He needs to be part of the debate."

Absolutely. We might even create a new federal position to accommodate him, sort of like party ideologist in the old Soviet Union, except that the U.S. job would be the opposite of what it was in the U.S.S.R. Instead of imposing orthodoxy, the party idea-ologist-ideology is so un-American—would propose un-orthodoxy. Gingrich was certainly wild with ideas last week, licking them off at warp speed, like a dog shaking himself clean after romping through a pond.

Some of the ideas, like the need to create a "rhio wilk" (it has something to do with sharing health-care information on the Internet), would take several columns to explain. Others were plain and clean and smart: Why not create a guest-worker program for immigrants in which 10% of their wages would be placed in an investment account that could be accessed only when they returned to their home country? Why not have bipartisan candidate events in the early presidential primary states? "If Republicans, just talk to other Republicans, there's a tendency to get so ugly about the other side that we go overboard. Same with Democrats," Gingrich said at Franklin Pierce College. "You

get campaigns that are just noise. But if you have to stand next to each other onstage, you tend to be more civil. There's a better chance of having a real dialogue."

Now, Newt Cingrich is not a public figure who has often been associated with civility. His angry hyperpartisan natings defined him during the period before he led the "Republican revolution" of 1994 and during his four years as Speaker of the House. But there was always another side to Newt. He was an intellectually honest policy work with an appetite for taking on the most important issues facing society—poverty, education, health care, national security, the environment. His solutions were inevitably market-based and conservative, but the very fact that he was devoting so much of his time to issues like reform of the Washington school system was quite annoying to his House C.o.P. colleagues,

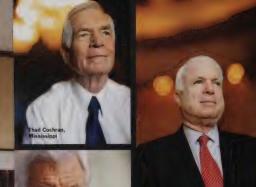
especially those from the God-and-Mammon wing of the party, like Tom DeLay. There were several coup attempts, with DeLay as a key player, before Gingrich, under fire, resigned as Speaker when the Democrats gained seats in the 1998 elections. He doesn't disguise his disdain for the current Republican leaders in the House. "They stopped being reformers," he says, "and reverted to being normal pols." He's also critical of the President, who "acted as if we had a parliamentary system and he had to accept every piece of legis-

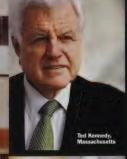


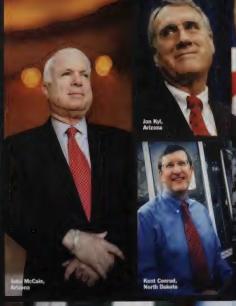
lation the Congress sent his way. He should have been vetoing those pork-laden bills from the start." Gingrich was and remains a strong supporter of the Iraq war but claims to be "mystified" by the Bush Administration's incompetence since Baghdad fell in 2003.

I don't want to say Gingrich has mellowed—the staccato feistines is still there—but it was suprising how little red meat he served his Republican audiences in New Hampshire. There were few antiliberal trades. When he talked about Hillary Clinton, it was to praise her support for electronic health-care record keeping. He played to his audiences' antitax prejudiess, but there were other, quite striking moments when he refused to pander. Asked about intelligent design, he said, "It's a perfectly fine philosophy, but it has nothing to do with science and shouldn't be taught in science courses." As the man said, New may be carrying too much baggage to be President, but wouldn't it be fumand a boon for our democracy—to have him onstage in the coming debate?

To see a collection of Joe Klein's recent columns, visit













BY MASSIMO CALABRESI AND FERRY BACON IR.

IN LAW, JUST ANOUT ANYOND CAN BE A LV. SENATOR.

The Constitution requires only that you have reached your 30th birthday, reside in the state you represent and have held American citizenship for mine years. But if the framers made qualifying for the job easy, they made excelling, at it difficult. James Madison

called the Senate a "fence" against the "fickleness and passion" of public opinion, and the rules of the place ensure that it is as cumbersome and restrictive as that sounds. Any of the 100 members can try to change, or completely hijack, another member's bill as comes up for a vote. And any one of them can bring the place to a kill with a filibuster. Mastering a powerful institution that relies on comity but requires confrontation takes a special kind of fulent.

Or talents. There is no fixed journey to greatness in the Senate. Instead there is a whole variety of skills that America's Senators have developed over 218 years to help them raise and spend tax dollars, oversee the operation of government and, in the case of the best among them, pass laws that benefit their constituents, their country and the world. Time spoke to dozens of academies, political scientists and current and former Senators to pick the 10 best of the 109th Congress. One made it because he puts unsexy but important issues on the national agenda, another because his backroom negotiating turns conflict into consensus. A third got on the list for his diligent bird dogging of Erron, Homeland Security and the Pentagon. Then there's the prodigious across-the-asise dealer, the fierce defender of her constituents and the expert who sees around corners. As with any all-star team, we sought a broad range of gifts rather than settling on 10 great pitchers or middle linebackers.

They say the Senate is the world's most exclusive club. But the real élite is made up not of those who break in but of those who make a difference once they get there. Here are 10 who do.

FIVE WORST

One's in trouble with the law: another is congenitally hostile. The other three have all found ways to live up to the advice one forgettable lawmaker gave the young Gary Hart when Hart arrived in 1975—If you want to stay in the Senate, he said. "Don't do anything."





## **The Contrarian**

LENTY OF PROPLE SUCCEED IN POLItics by being everyone's friend. It
takes a special talent to make it as
a guy whom allies call "abrasive,"
"brutal" and "prosecutorial. Republican
Arlen Specter of Pennsylvania is known
for being blunt, not sparing even members
of his own party, Unsatisfied with answers
Attorney General Alberto Gonzales gave in
hearings on the Administration's no-warrant
domestic wiretapping last February, he
said the AGS defense "defes logic and plain
English," and told the Washington Post that
Conzales was smoking Dutch Cleanser. And

although Specter has mellowed over the years, his recent brush with mortality (he's fighting Hodgkin's disease) has made his famous impatience more acute. No wonder few Republicans will accept invitations to join him on foreign trips, even when they are to South America and the Middle East.

The chairman of the formidable Judiciary Committee is an equal-opportunity offender. He nearly lost his 1992 Senate race when feminists mobilized against him after he grilled witness Anita Hill during the Supreme Court nomination hearings of Clarence Thomas. In 2004 Specter found himself on the other side of the feminist divide, nearly losing his long-awaited chance to run the committee when he opined that a Supreme Court nominee opposed to abortion rights wouldn't make it through the Senate.

Specter's principled contrarianism fits in the tradition of lawmakers Senate historian Richard Baker deserbles as the conscience of the institution, men and women who "stand up and say," Hold on a minute." I'm addition to conducting hearings on Bush's nowarrant wiretapping program, Specter, 76, has repeatedly challenged Fist chief Robert Mueller on what Specter sees a shortcomings in the agency's performance, he chided the Justice Department for not participating in hearings on protecting reporters' sources and sent the White House a blistering list of questions he would have asked Harriet Miers had she not withdrawn her nomination as a Supreme Court Justice.

Specter can also be constructive. With Patrick Leahy, the ranking Democrat on the Judiciary Committee, he turned what could have been colossal battles over the Supreme Court nominations of John Roberts and Samuel Alito into disciplined and respectful hearings. He has hammered out enormously complex deals in committee on asbestos compensation and immigration reform. And as chairman of a powerful appropriations subcommittee, he was largely responsible for doubling spending on the National Institutes of Health and for increasing education spending 146% over 11 years. All of which he's managed while surviving a brain tumor, open-heart surgery and, in the past year, the chemotherapy treatment for his Hodgkin's disease. Says his former chief of staff David Urban: "You can find a lot of people who don't like Arlen Specter, but you can't find anyone who doesn't respect him."

BEST: JOHN MCCAIN

### The Mainstreamer

OMETIMES THE POWER OF A LAW DEpends on the lawmaker. Last May the Senate unanimously passed a Democratic amendment banning the torture of prisoners in U.S. custody. No one paid any attention. Then in October Republican John McCain introduced his antitorture amendment, using identical language, and the issue made headlines in newspapers across the country. The White House jumped to attention, dispatching Vice President Dick Cheney and National Security Adviser Stephen Hadley to try to talk McCain down. He stood firm, and the bill passed unanimously in December.

It wasn't just that McCain, 69, had been tortured as a prisoner of war in Vietnam. McCain has that rare ability to put an issue on the U.S. agenda that wouldn't naturally be there. "It's a question of moral authority." says former New Hampshire Senator Warren Rudman of his former colleague. McCain has earned that moral authority over the years by being patient and making the big play. Many of the problems McCain tackles are entrenched and unexciting: they challenge the rules in Washington and the cynicism of voters at home. Over the past decade, McCain forced through a reform that made the money coming in from rich interest groups and directed at political advertisements more transparent. He has spent his entire Senate career exposing wasteful pork-barrel projects. And in the past year, he took his backwater committee. Indian Affairs, and used it to launch an investigation of lobbvist lack Abramoff. whose admission in federal court that he conspired to bribe public officials produced a series of efforts to ban certain kinds of influence peddling.

The skills that allow McCain to put unorthodox issues at center stageindependence, single-mindedness-don't always translate well to other pursuits. They helped McCain lose the 2000 C.O.P. presidential primary by scaring the party



WORST: CONRAD BURNS

### The Shock Jock

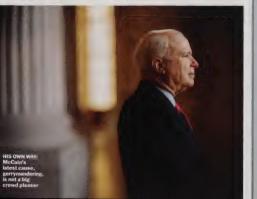


not be on anyone's list of worst Senators. chairman of an Appropriations and a Commerce subcommittee, he has

plenty of power, and he has used it over his 17 years in Washington to bring \$2 billion to Montana.

Yet the former Marine is in trouble. For starters, he is serially offensive. In the last campaign, Burns called Arabs "ragheads" and had to apologize. In 1994 he played along when a rancher made a demeaning comment about African Americans. Last month he told a woman, within earshot of the media, that he was looking forward to getting "kneewalking drunk." Says staff member Matt Mackowiak: "Montanans know Conrad (and know that) he likes to crack jokes." Yet Burns' approval rating has dipped to 38%. As for legislating, the former farm-radio broadcaster's record over three terms is meager: Asked what his greatest successes over two decades were, aides touted a cell-phone measure that requires providers to route emergency calls to the closest hospital and another that opens the satellite spectrum to public auction.

Burns' real problem, however, is not with making law but with staving on the right side of it. Federal investigators are looking into his ties to Jack Abramoff, the lobbyist who has admitted bribing lawmakers. In 2003 Burns got the Interior Department to make a \$3 million grant to a rich, Michigan-based tribal client of Abramoff's: Burns also received \$150,000 in contributions from Abramoff, his co-workers and his clients over the past five years. (Burns has since given those funds to charitv.) In an April article in Vanity Fair. Abramoff said, "Every appropriation we wanted (from Burns' committee). we got ... I mean, it's a little difficult for him to run from that record."



# The Invisible Man

in a Senate full of ambitious members, Colorado Republican Wayne Allard is so bland that his critics have dubbed him "Dullard." Now in his 3 Oth year, Allard

almost never plays a role in major legislation, even though he's on two key Senate committees, Budget and Appropriations. The veterinarian rarely speaks on the floor or holds press conferences to push his ideas. Few of the bills he has introduced over the past year have passed; in fact, since



Colorado Democrat Ken Salazar entered the Senate last year, Salazar's legislative output has dwarfed Allard's, even though Allard has the advantages of seniority and of being a Republican in a G.O.P-dominated Congress.

Despite his skimpy record, Allard, 62, is well liked by his colleagues. He's polite, affable and willing to take on thankless tasks, such as his current role overseeing the construction of a visitor center on Capitol Hill. A fiscal conservative, he has given back to the federal Treasury unspent money from his office. But he made such a small impression in Colorado that he had trouble getting re-elected in 2002. according to E. Scott Adler, a political-science professor at the University of Colorado. Allard has that kind of anonymity in Washington too, and it makes him one of its least influential Senators.

establishment and its base. So as the front runner in the 2008 campaign, McCain is taking the opposite tack, endorsing Bush tax cuts that he once opposed as fiscally unsound; embracing religious conservatives like lerry Falwell, whom he once denounced; and endorsing the teaching of intelligent design as an alternative to evolution. Opinion writers have been perplexed at the preprimary turnaround, but the two-year walk-up to 2008 won't consist of just courting the party's die-hards. McCain is scheduled to assume the chairmanship of the powerful Senate Armed Services Committee next January, a targetrich environment for a waste and fraud hunter. He is already stumping against gerrymandering, which he says is undemocratic. "It's harder to keep your job in the politburo in Havana than in the House of Representatives," McCain says.

And if he wins in 2008? Among the first items on his agenda in 2009, McCain says, is winning the battle that George W. Bush just lost-filling Social Security and other underfunded entitlements. Crucial to that effort, he says, is getting Congress to clean house. "If you've got \$47 billion in earmarks and 6,140 pork-barrel projects on the highway bill, how can you expect the American people to make tough decisions about entitlement programs?" he asks. No matter what happens in '06, says scholar Norman Ornstein, McCain will be remembered as "one of the few people who can have great impact in the Senate."

BEST: DICK DURBIN

# The Debater

VEN THOUGH THE SENate is occasionally called the World's Greatest Deliberative Body, actual debate on the Senate floor rarely happens: members just read prepared speeches written by aides and then return to their offices. Then there's Dick Durbin. On issues from immigration reform to judicial nominees, the Illinois Democrat frequently engages in public back-andforth with his Senate colleagues in hearings and before votes-and rarely uses notes to do it. "I can't do it any other way," says Durbin of his off-the-cuff style.

"That's me." And while the debates don't often change the votes of other members, Durbin's tough questioning of his colleagues and his willingness to defend his proposals clarify and distill complicated issues for the c-SPAN-viewing public. Occasionally, Durbin's arguments even carry the day, as when he won support on the Senate Judiciary Committee for a provision in an immigration bill that would protect church groups and others from prosecution if they aided illegal immigrants.

Of course, speaking extemporaneously has its risks, which Durbin learned last June after he was forced to apologize for comparing alleged abuse of prisoners by U.S. troops at Guantánamo Bay to techniques used by the Nazis, the Soviets and the Khmer Rouge. And some Republicans complain Durbin is too strident in his role as assistant leader of Senate Democrats, constantly on the attack against Republicans and President Bush. But Durbin, 61, has a bipartisan side. He has joined with Senator Rick Santorum, a staunch Republican from Pennsylvania, to push the U.S. government to give \$500 million in additional funds for the Global Fund to Fight AIDS. Tuberculosis and Malaria. Early this year, he helped broker a compromise between Democrats and Republicans to reauthorize the USA Patriot Act, working on a provision that will keep most libraries from having to hand over information about users without an order from a judge. And if he can't reach a compromise be-

And if he can't reach a compromise behind the scenes, Durbin is happy to return to the open well of the Senate. "I really enjoy debate," he says. "The battle of ideas is what it should be about."





#### BEST: RICHARD LUGAR

# The Wise Man

IN AN AIRPORT IN THE RUSSIAN CITY OF Perm, a minor diplomatic crisis broke out last August. In violation of an international treaty, local border police refused to allow the plane of Senators Richard Lugar and Barack Obama to depart without being inspected. Instead of pitching a fit, Lugar, the powerful Republican chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, curled up on a chair-ignoring the overpowering smell of a broken toilet-and took a nap. The Russians eventually backed down. "He is a quiet, intelligent, steady force," says former Nebraska Senator Bob Kerrey, Lugar's former colleague. But make no mistake. Kerrev adds: "He's unmovable when he reaches a conclusion about what ought to be done."

That level of conviction helps when, as one of America's leading internationalists, you're a defender of free trade and an enemy of farm subsidies yet you represent a state dominated by manufacturing and farming, It's also a bonus that Lugar's think-

ing has often proved to be ahead of the curve. In the 1980s he led the push for democracy in the Philippines and South Africa when the Reagan Administration was still backing undemocratic regimes there. And Lugar, 74, has long been an ardent advocate of developing alternative fuels as a way to wean the U.S. from foreign oil—an approach endorsed by Bush in January.

Lugar's signature achievement was to recognize the dangers of loose nukes 10 years before 9/11. With Democrat Sam Nunn, he sponsored legislation that funded the removal of all nuclear weapons from Ukraine, Belarus and Kazakhstan and the deactivation of 6.828 nuclear warheads throughout the former Soviet Union. In the past few years, Lugar has expanded his nonproliferation efforts to help secure shoulderlaunched missiles, a favorite of terrorists, and chemical-weapons depots, like one near the Kazakhstan border that contained 1.9 million sarin-gas shells. He is withholding support for Bush's recent nuclear deal with India until hearings he has called determine whether letting Delhi import technology to build reactors would create a new proliferation problem.

#### BEST: CARL LEVIN

# The Bird-Dogger

O ONE WOULD ACCUSE CARL LEVIN OF looking like Hollywood's version of a U.S. Senator. He's pudgy, balding and occasionally rumpled, and he constantly wears his glasses at the very tip of his nose. Still, the Michigan Democrat has gained respect from both parties for his attention to detail and deep knowledge of policy, especially in his role as a vigilant monitor of businesses and federal agencies. In 2002 a subcommittee he led hauled in Enron's board of directors for questioning about the company's shady accounting practices; in hearings a year later, he was one of the chief challengers of large accounting firms that had created illegal tax shelters. Congress passed laws in the wake of both scandals in an effort to prevent the abuses from happening again.

Levin, 71 and first elected in 1978, says he considers congressional hearings a critical part of his job, spending as much as zohours prepping for each one so an evasive witness won't outwit him. The former civil rights lawyer is known for forcing embarrassing admissions from Homeland Security Secretary Michael Chertoff and other Bush Administration officials through his precise questioning. "You've got to be very blunt and truly listen so you know when the b.s. is flying." Levin says.

Although admired by many Republicans for his diligence, Levin rarely sides with them. He opposed the fraq war, and as the top Democrat on the Senate Armed Services Committee. he has become one of his party's leading voices in criticizing President Bush's conduct of the invasion, arguing that the Administration didn't have enough troops in the early

stages and, more recently, hasn't focused enough on training Iraqis. But his carefully researched, thoughtful remarks carry great weight with his colleagues. "Nobody in the Democratic Caucus says anything on national-security issues without talking to Carl Levin," says a top Democratic Senate staff member.

BEST: JON KYL

## The Operator

ANY JUNIOR SENATORS WASTE AWAY in the shadow cast by a giant senior colleague. But in just two terms, Arizona's No. 2, Jon Kyl, 63, has blossomed in the shade of John McCain. As head of the Republican Policy Committee,



the ultraconservative Kyl is in charge of shaping the Republican agenda in the Senate on everything from abortion and judicial appointments to national security and tax cuts. He has succeeded by mastering a tactic that is crucial in a body in which any one member can bring the place to a halt as a ploy or out of pique: subterfuge.

Last November, for example, Senator Lindsey Graham of South Carolina proposed a controversial amendment barring U.S. courts from hearing cases brought by prisoners in the war on terrorism. It turned out that Kyl was behind it, having worked on the language for months and having assigned his staff to help write the final bill. But "it was a situation where it was best handled by Lindsey," Kyl says delicately, pointing out that Graham had the credibility of a military lawyer and centrist. When urgent legislation to respond to Hurricane Katrina bumped Kyl's long-sought goal of a vote on abolishing the estate tax last fall. Kyl quietly worked to get it back on the Senate agenda by recruiting Alabama Senator Jeff Sessions in an unsuccessful attempt to find victims of the disaster who would be paying the tax. And although he denies it, c.O. aides say that when Harriet Miers was nominated to the Supreme Court last October, Kyl and his staff led a behind-the-scenes effort to undermine the nomination.

As the Miers fight showed, Kyl does not have side of the battlements as Bush. The Senator was a leading opponent of the immigration-reform compromise backed by the President that collapsed earlier this month. When the Senate returns from recess next

# Master of the Minor

By all accounts, Daniel Akaka is an affectionate and carnest man, Even a conservative fire-breather like Oklahoma's James Inhofe says his ultra-liberal colleague "is a I lovable person, and most

of us are not that lovable." As a legislator, though, Akaka is living proof that experience does not necessarily yield expertise. After 16 years on the job, the junior Senator from Hawaii is a master of the minor resolution and the bill that dies in committee. In the 2003-04 Congress, for example, he sponsored a



handful of innocuous resolutions commending civil servants and establishing Financial Literacy for Youth Month. He sponsored 29 unambitious bills, aimost none of which ever emerged from committee. The three that did become law named a post office, changed the boundary of a national park in Hawaii and nutrured

"the development and planning of certain policies, schedules and programs" for postmasters.

programs" for postmasters. Akaka's seniority has placed him in positions of potential influence. At 81 he is the ranking Democrat on the Veterans' Affairs Committee and sits on four other committees that control such valuable political real estate as the armed services and homeland security as well as energy and natural resources. He did make a mark 13 years ago by passing a resolution by which the U.S. apologized for invading Hawaii in 1893. But he has struggled recently to get a bill approved that would provide increased autonomy to the islands. Says Jennifer Duffy of the Cook Political Report: "He lives in [senior Hawaiian Senator Daniel] Inouye's very long shadow on the back bench of the Senate, and his interests seem more parochial."

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week, the Judiciary Committee will take up the immigration debate again. Watch for Kyl to play a pivotal role—if perhaps not the most conspicuous one. "You can accomplish a lot if you're not necessarily out in front on everything," he says.

BEST: TED KENNEDY

### The Dealmaker

Crat Ted Kennedy has fought serial battles on behalf of the working class—from defending overtime pay and workplace-safety regulations to expanding health care and penalizing discrimination. But the key to his legacy is not that he is determined to stick up for his principles. It's that he is willing to compromise on them.

Late in 1990, for example, Kennedy sat red-faced as House Democrat Pat Schroeder berated him for supporting something he didn't believe in: caps on damages for workplace discrimination. But by agreeing to limits, Kennedy won over the handful of Republican and Southern Democratic Senators he needed to secure passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1991, strengthening laws that banned job discrimination. The result was a law that protects women from sexual harassment at work and has yielded a surge in lawsuits and tens of millions of dollars in damages to aggireved plaintifits.

Kennedy was a bit of a joke when he first arrived in Washington in 1962. When John F. Kennedy was elected President in 1960, he kept his Massachusetts Senate seat warm for his youngest sibling, placing a college buddy in it for two years until Teddy reached the constitutionally required age of 30. But starting with a 1965 bill that did away with country-by-country quotas for immigrants, and especially in the quartercentury since his failed 1980 campaign for President, Kennedy, 74, has amassed a titanic record of legislation affecting the lives of virtually every man, woman and child in the country. With a succession of Republicans, he helped create COBRA, the Americans with Disabilities Act, portable health care, the Family and Medical Leave Act and more than 15 key education programs, including the landmark 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act. He also pushed through the deregulation of the airline and trucking industries and the reduction of the voting age to 18. By the late '90s, the liberal icon had become such a prodigious cross-aisle dealer that Republican leaders began pressuring party colleagues not to sponsor bills with him.

Some bipartisan efforts have backfired on Kennedy. He has complained that he was taken in by Bush on the No Child Left Behind law because it was inadequately funded, and Democrats are distressed that he has collaborated with Republicans on immigration reform. Worse than that, critics say, Kennedy's inability to stop the confirmation of Supreme Court Chief Justice John Roberts and Justice Samuel Alito show he's losing his swat. But Kennedy still finds a way to deliver the goods for the less advantaged. Over the next five years, more than 100,000 severely disabled children will become beneficiaries of a new \$872 million program that continues government health-care payments to them even as they move out of

WORST: MARK DAYTON

### The Blunderer



When he was elected in 2000, Minnesota Democrat Mark Dayton seemed well prepared, having worked as an aide to Walter Mondale in the 1970s.

But he has exhibited erratic behavior since there in October 2004 he shut down his office for almost a month, citing an unspecified terrorist threat. The 99 other Senators had access to the same intelligence and kept their offices open, even while Dayton went on television to tell his constituents not to visit the Capital of Fohrsap (2007), 59, made another notable blunder. The Hayo Clinic, or his constituent of the Capital Ca



would mean dozens of trains passing by the clinic each day. Dayton told FORTUNE magazine the Mayo Clinic is "worth a hell of a lot more than the whole state of South Dakota." He later apologized for the remark.

Inside the Senate, Dayton has passed few bills partly because some are too liberal for the Republican-controlled body, including one that would have created a Department of Peace and Nonviolence. He has confounded his colleagues by complaining about basic facts of the job, such as his limited power in a chamber where authority derives from seniority. He announced early last year that he wouldn't seek re-election.



INTRODUCING THE

Connecessed around. Theft you arriessage. You're always off somewhere. Scaraffanciae "Despite a the rail that can be usually seen of wall you also every large seen and seed to go when you are set planty of power and seed. It is not seen as the seen of the seed of the se

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poverty. Kennedy and Iowa Republican Chuck Grassley managed to slip the program into last year's budget.

BEST: OLYMPIA J. SNOWE

### The Provider

eagerness to get beyond partisan point scoring, Maine Republican point scoring, Maine Republican Olympia Snowe is in the center of every policy debate in Washington. Last year she was one of 14 Senators who reached a compromise on President Bush's judicial nominees that prevented a Senate meltdown between the two parties. More recently, she helped craft an agreement to increase congressional oversight of the Administration's no-warrant surveillance program, helping ease tensions between the Senate and the White House.

But while Snowe, 59, is a major player on national issues, she is also known as one of the most effective advocates for her constituents. First elected in 1994, she goes back to Maine nearly every weekend, often stopping in a small town for what she calls a "Main Street tour"-walking the streets and visiting shops to ask people what they're thinking about. "It's better than any poll I can think of," she says. When Snowe returns to Capitol Hill, she looks to fix the problems Maine residents have told her about: she successfully fought to keep open two Maine military facilities recommended for closure last year, and last month she got passed a bill that will provide millions to pay the heating bills of low-income people, a huge worry in frigid Maine.

Snowe's formula of being clued into the center and into home have made her very popular in Maine. In a March poll by Survey USA, 71% of Snowe's constituents approved of her performance, a rating only a handful of Senators ever score. And voters often show their support more directly. 2003, after one of her numerous disagree-

ments with the Bush Administration, she almost single-handedly forced Bush to lower a tax-cut proposal from \$700 billion to \$350 billion. Republicans in Washington were furious. But a few days later in Portland, a driver saw Snowe on the street from his car window and shouted to the surprised Senator, "You go, Olympia. You stand strong."

BEST: KENT CONRAD

# The Statistician

N 2001 THE STAFF OF THE SENATE RULES Committee called Kent Conrad's office with a complaint—and a solution. The North Dakota Democrat was using more

HANDS ON:
Snowe returns to Maine each week and often the state of the

charts than all the other Senators combined. so to free printing time for others, they gawe him his own equipment. Last mouth during his 37-minute opening statement in the battle over the budget, Conrad went through 37 charts. "We call him Chart Man," teases Republican whip Mitch McConnell, McConnell gridgingly concedes, though, that "[Connal] does a good job of representing [the Democrats] arguments."

Conrad, 58, long ago took the advice that party leaders give Senate newcomers: pick one area and master it. That gives you clout and guarantees that someone on your side knows what he or she is talking about. Over 20 years, Conrad, the ranking Democrat on the Budget Committee, has made himself the king of that most important part of the Senate's business-raising and spending the taxpayers' money. "As I read history, nothing is more important than a strong and growing economy," he says. "I think that's been the genius of America, and I believe these runaway debts threaten it all." Orphaned at 5 when his parents were killed in a car accident. Conrad, along with his brothers, was raised by his grandparents and by an uncle and aunt. He's careful in his habits: he spends modestly on travel, he balances his checkbook daily, and when he drinks, it's never more than two cocktails. He and the Democrats helped lead an unsuccessful fight to prevent the Bush Administration from raising the U.S. debt limit to \$9 trillion and from passing a \$2.8 trillion budget that is projected to increase the deficit to at least \$350 billion this year.

Conrad launched his political career as a tax commissioner in Bismarck, rooting through phone and tax records to dig up evidence of tax fraud by out-of-state com-



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panies. His budget expertise came in handy when President Bush, pushing a plan for partially privatizing Social Security last year, put the hard sell on him. Bush first tried by flying with Conrad to Fargo then, after they returned, kept the pressure on by inviting him to the White House, where he dropped hints about election-year vulnerability for red-state Democrats. But Conrad, whose honorary Sioux name translates as "Never Turns Back" stood firm in his opposition to the plan. "I could never support something that added dramatically to the debt," Conrad says. "I told him. Count me out."

#### BEST: THAD COCHRAN

### The Persuader

HEN THE LOUISIANA CONGRESsional delegation publicly demanded a staggering \$250 billion from the government to rebuild the Gulf Coast after Hurricane Katrina, the move completely backfired. It angered G.O.P. conservatives, who spent the next two months pushing for cuts in the budget and ignoring Louisiana and Mississippi. But then Mississippi Republican Thad Cochran got tough on behalf of his state. In a closed-door meeting last December, several Republican Senators were talking about how to quickly pass a key bill that would provide money for the Defense Department so lawmakers could head home for the holidays. Cochran simply announced that "this bill won't pass" unless it includes money for the Gulf Coast.



As chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee, which decides how Congress doles out money. Cochran wields considerable power on Capitol Hill, particularly on budget issues. But along with that post, Cochran has gained the trust of the Administration and Capitol Hill for his quiet, courtly manner that is evident whether he is playing the piano in his office or using his experience and mastery of the issues to persuade his colleagues privately rather than make demands on them in public. "I don't call lots of news conferences," Cochran says. "I just don't see that as a necessary part of my responsibilities." On Katrina, Cochran, along with oth-

er Gulf Coast lawmakers, created a detailed list of the region's essential needs that totaled about \$35 billion. He then had dozens of meetings with other lawmakers, emphasizing how badly the region needed the money but never publicly blasting Congress for moving too slowly. In the end, he got \$29 billion out of his colleagues, almost double the money that Bush and congressional leaders had initially pledged.

Cochran, first elected in 1978, is often overshadowe in Washington by the junior Senator from his state, the ambitious and often controversial Trent Lott. But Cochran, 68, has carved several niches for himself, including becoming one of the few Senators well versed in farm policy. "He doesn't get a whole lot of play in terms of coverage," says a senior Go. Senator, "but he is effectively stubborn doing what needs to be done."

#### WORST: JIM BUNNING

# The Underperformer

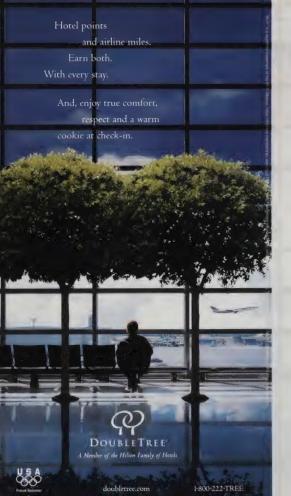
Before he entered politice, when the property of the property

tion to being nostile to start members on the Hill and occasionally even other Senators, Bunning shows little interest in policy unless it involves baseball, according to congressional experts and colleagues. When asked, they struggle to recall any legislation Bunning has worked



on, although he did Join Arizona Senator John McCain last spring in demanding tougher punishments for steroid use in professional sports. Congressional observers consider Bunning, 74, a disappointment also because his sharp questioning of former Federal Reserve Chairman Alan Greenspan on fiscal matters during hearings over the past couple of years suggest he has the smarts to be an effective Senator but doesn't put in the effort.

Bunning's lackluster performance has created strains between him and the G.O.P. in Kentucky, according to Laurie Rhodebeck, a University of Louisville political-science professor. Having served Kentucky for 12 years in the House before moving to the Senate in 1998, Bunning exhibited bizarre behavior during his 2004 re-election campaign. He said his Democratic opponent, a child of Italian immigrants, looked like one of Saddam Hussein's sons. He refused to go to Kentucky for the campaign's only debate and took part instead from Washington. It was later revealed that he had read some of his answers in the debate from a teleprompter. He was returned to office by just two points in a state that President Bush carried by 20.





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# THE UP-AND-COMERS

They're still just freshmen, but they have turned heads already by learning a specialty or helping to broker peace in a polarized capital

BY PERRY BACON JR. AND MASSIMO CALABRESI

#### BARACK OBAMA

The Illinois Democrat rode into town with a halo and has worked hard ever since to prove he's a mere mortal. Obarma, 4.4, has focused on important but low-profile issues, such as making sure the U.S. is prepared for an outbreak of waint flu and securing nuclear-weapon stockpiles in the former Sovet Union. He has reached so often across the aisle on, say, controlling Katrina spending, that some Democrats complain he won't be their ifferband.



#### LINDSEY GRAHAM

Replacing South Carolina's aged Strom Thurmond, Republican Graham, 50, was every bit the contrast—boyish, fast tatking and a mavenick. He hit the national stage as a House manager in the impeachment of Bill Clitton, but in the Senate he has bucked the Bush White House on its treatment of detainees and no-warrant wretapping. He's effective, pushing through a bill last year to expand health care for the Guard and the Reserve, But his strength is stepping up to a big moral issue, like how far to go in the war on terrorism, and making his voice heard.



#### HILLARY CLINTON

The record of candidate Clinton may be controversial, but her six short years New York Democratic Senator Clinton, 58, has earned respect from both parties. Assigned to the Armed Services Committee, she has mastered issues like how to retain Guard and Reserve troops, pushed through legislation educating military families on insurance scams and funded measures to help upply fill vaccine. She has also leveraged her national clout to spotlight important terrorism issues with narrow followings—like the vulnierability of nuclear plants.



#### JOHN E. SUNUNU

Only 41 years old, the New Hampshire Republican is the youngest member of the Senate. but that hasn't limited his reach. Sununu played a major role this year on the lobbying-reform legislation, and he got the Bush Administration to make some crucial changes in the Patriot Act before he voted to reauthorize it. The son of former White House chief of staff John H. Sununu, he has become a well-respected fiscal conservative, last fall calling for cuts in nearly every part of the budget to offset spending for Hurricane Katrina.





#### MARK PRYOR

The scion of a popular Democratic Arkansas political family, Pryor, 43, made his mark in 2005, supplanting oldtimers like Joe Lieberman and Robert Byrd to take a leading role in the centrist "Gang of 14" that defused the crisis over judicial filibusters. He impressed Senate watchers by his ability to keep Democratic leader Harry Reid fully informed and happy at the same time. Watch for Pryor, who voted with President Bush 58% of the time in 2005, to emerge as a key swing vote and voice for Third Way Democrats.







"Yes, I have cancer. But I'm doing what I can to keep it in perspective. When it comes to chemotherapy, I'm making sure I'm ready. My doctor told me chemotherapy could lower my white blood cell count, putting me at risk for infection—even putting my treatment on hold. Neulasta' from the start' of chemotherapy can help boost my white blood cell count, reducing my risk of infection. With enough white blood cells, my doctor is more likely to keep my chemo my schedule, an introminit puri of carnet beamers.

"If you're getting chemotherapy, why not talk with you doctor about Neulasta\*?"

\*Neulasta\* is administered one day after chemotherapy.

Important Information: Neulasta' is a prescription-only imjection. Neulasta' is for most cancer patients receiving strong chemotherapy and may not prevent all infections. In rare cases, splenic rupture or serious allergic reactions have been reported. Report abdominal or shoulder pain or any allergic reaction to your doctor unmediately. The most common side effect of this injection is mild to moderate bone pain. Please see important product inform, too for pitents on the following page.





#### BRIEF SUMMARY OF INFORMATION FOR PATIENTS AND CAREGIVERS

This brief summary of the patient package insert provides information and instructions for people who will be receiving Neulasta\* or their caretivers. This brief summary does not tell you everything about Neulasta\*. You should discuss any questions you have about treatment with Neulasta\* with your doctor.

#### What is Neulasta®?

Neulasta\* is a man-made form of granulocyte colony-stimulating factor (G-CSF), which is made using the bacteria £ coli. G-CSF is a substance naturally produced by the body. It stimulates the growth of neutrophils (nu-tro-fils), a type of white blood cell important in the body's fight against infection.

#### What is Neulasta® used for?

Neulasta\*\* is used to treat neutropenia (nu-tro-peen-ee-ah), a condition where the body makes too few white blood cells. Neutropenia can be caused by drugs used to treat caper.

#### How does Neulasta® work?

Neulasta" works by stimulating the growth of neutrophils, a type of white blood cell. To make sure Neulasta" is working, the doctor will ask that the patient have blood tests to count the number of white blood cells. It is important to follow the doctor's instructions about these tests.

#### Who should not take Neulasta®?

Do not take Neulasta® if you are:

- Allergic to Neulasta® (pegfilgrastim) or any of its ingredients, or to NEUPOGEN®

  (Filgraphim). See the end of this brief summan for a list of ingradients in Neurlasta's
- Allergic to other medicines made using the bacteria E coli. Ask your doctor if you are not sure.

### What important information do I need to know about receiving Neulasta\*?

Needstaff can reduce the risk of infection, but it may not prevent all infections. An infection can still happen during the time when you white bodo call ledited are low. You must be alert and look for some of the comman signs of infection, such as feet, official, reals, your terror, cliarrise, or referess, severilling, or print around a cut or sore. If you notice any of these symptoms during treatment with

Occasionally a reaction may develop at the injection site. If there is a lump, swelling, or bruising at the injection site that does not go away, talk to the doctor.

If you have sickle cell disease, make sure that your doctor knows about it before using Neulasta\*! It is important that you drink plenty of fluids if you receive Neulasta\* If you have a sickle cell crisis after getting Neulasta\*, you need to tell your doctor noth away.

Make sure your doctor knows about all medications you are taking before starting Neulasta\* injections. If you are taking lithium, you may need more frequent

#### Neulasta\* (penfilorastim)

The doctor, nurse, or caregiver will usually Inject the dose of Neulasta\* a day after the last dose of chemotherapy in each cycle. Neulasta\* should only be injected on the day the doctor has determined and should not be injected until approximately 24 hours after receiving chemotherapy.

More information about Neulasta® is available in the physician package insert. I

#### What are possible or reasonably likely side effects of Neulasta®?

Your spleen may become enlarged and, in rare cases, may rupture while taking Neulasta\*. The spleen is located in the upper left section of your stomach area. Call your doctor right away if you have pain in your left upper stomach area or left shoulder tip area. This pain could mean your spleen is enlarged or ruptured.

Neulastis\* can cause serious allergic reactions. These reactions can cause a reach over the whole body, shortness of breath wheever, discurses a drop in blood pressure), awelling around the mouth or eyes, last pulse, and/or swelting. Sometimes these symptoms could come book within days after stopping relational for the alleign creation. If you get these symptoms at any time, stop using Neulastia's and call a doctor or get emergency care right aways. If you have an allergic reaction during the injection of Neulastia's top the injection right laways.

The most common side effect you may experience is aching in the bones and muscles. If this happens, it can usually be relieved with a non-aspirin pain reliever, such as acetamingohen.

Some people experience redness, swelling, or itching at the site of injection. This may be an altergy to the ingredients in Neulasta\*, or it may be a local reaction. If you notice signs of a local reaction, call your doctor.

#### What about pregnancy or breastfeeding?

Neulasta\* has not been studied in pregnant women, and its effects on unborn bables are not known. If you take Neulasta\* while you are pregnant, it is possible that small amounts of it may get into your bably \$1000f. It is not known if Neulasta\* can get into human breast milk. If you are pregnant, plan to become pregnant, think you may be pregnant, or are breastfielding, you should tell your doctor before using Neulasta\*.

#### How should Neulasta® be stored?

Neutrasis should be stored in the refligerator of 2" to 8°C 68" to 48"?). Dut not in the freezer. Neutrasis should be protected from light, so you should skeep it in its canton until you are ready to use it. Avoid shading Neutrasis? If Neutrasis is accidentally frozen, allow it to thank in the refligerator before rejecting. Nevers. if it is freezen a second met, don't use he refligerator before importing. A to the refligerator of the first of the refligerator of the first of a form the repetiator for up to 48 hours. Do not leave Neutrasis' in direct sunight. For all questions about straige, contact your doctor, nava, or planmacist.

#### What are the ingredients in Neulasta®?

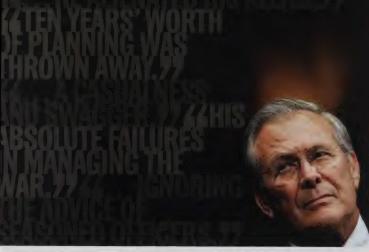
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NATION

# The Revolt Of the Generals

Here are the complaints against Rumsfeld from a growing list of military chiefs. Guess what Bush thinks

By MICHAEL DUFFY

RMY MAJOR GENERAL JOHN BERTISTE sounded like a big fan of Donald Rumsfeld's when the Pentagon chief dropped by the 1st Infantry Division in Tikrit on Christmas Eve 2004. "This is a man with the courage and the conviction to win the war on terrorism," Batiste told a gathering 0250 G.1s.

But Batiste's true feelings were a little more complex than he was letting on. After joining a growing chorus of retired generals last week calling on Rumsfeld to resign. Batiste told TIME that he was actually seething as the Defense chief came to call. "When I introduce the Secretary of Defense to my troops, I'm going to be a loyal subordinate," he said. "But it was boiling inside me. Every time I looked at him, I was thinking about ... that s\_war plan, I was thinking about the challenges I had every day trying to rebuild the Iraqi milltary that he disbanded."

Batiste, it turns out, wasn't the only one holding his fire. Over the past several weeks, the extent of the military's unhappiness with Rumsfeld has exploded into what

is already being called the Revolt of the Generals. Half a dozen retired generals have used newspaper opinion pages-and in the case of Lieut, General Greg Newbold. TIME magazine (see TIME.com)-to break months of silence and call for Rumsfeld's head. That in turn has rekindled the debate about whether the Iraqi invasion was illconceived in the first place, and, if so, who is to blame. President George W. Bush issued a defiant defense of his Pentagon boss-if not the larger enterprise itselffrom Camp David, where he went to spend Easter: "Secretary Rumsfeld's energetic and steady leadership is exactly what is needed at this critical period. He has my full support and deepest appreciation." General Richard Myers, the recently retired Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and retired General Tommy Franks, the main architect of the Afghanistan and Iraq interventions. also quickly leaped to Rumsfeld's defense.

In Washington such high praise from the President is sometimes the prelude to an execution. And behind the scenes, there are indications that the moment for a shuffle could be approaching, says a former White House official who has worked with Rumsfeld. "There are people in the building who would

like to see 'peace with honor,'" the official

TIME APRIL 24, 2006

told TIME, dusting off a reference to the 1968 campaign theme that helped elect Richard Nixon. But a senior White House official insisted that Bush would not be pushed into removing the Pentagon boss. "No one has ever mentioned a timeline for his tenure," he said.

Open revolts by the top military brass against their civilian minders are rare but not unprecedented. General MacArthur objected to Harry Truman's handling of the Korean War and was fired in 1951. The Air Force didn't like the way Lyndon Johnson handpicked bombing targets during the Vietnam War. And Bill Clinton had to back down after he ordered the Pentagon to openly admit homosexuals in 1993 by settling on the narrower "Don't ask, don't tell" policy.

But what distinguishes the latest rebellion is that the retired generals are taking on their old boss not over policy or budgets but the operation of an ongoing war. And it is a message that will probably be heard more deeply by voters than the usual criticism from Capitol Hill or editorial boards, particularly because the generals are making essentially the same argument: Rumsfeld was wrong to disband the Iraqi military, has ignored the advice of people with far more battlefield experience and has shown too little concern about the abuses of Iraqi prisoners. The generals also argue that Rumsfeld insisted on too small a force for the invasion, abandoning the doctrine championed by former Secretary of State and four-star general Colin Powell in 1991 after the Gulf War to attack rarely and then only with overwhelming force. Rumsfeld wanted to prove the Powell Doctrine obsolete. Instead, he has probably guaranteed that it will be followed for years.

There is some evidence that the retirees are speaking for other generals still on active duty. "I think," said former U.S. Central Command boss Anthony C. Zinni, a retired Marine four star, "a lot of people are biting their tongues." But not everyone: some still in uniform have criticized the retirees for speaking up now instead of before the war, when the brass accepted Rumsfeld's demands for a smaller, lighter force. But one consistent part of the indictment is that Rumsfeld made clear he wouldn't listen to views that didn't match his own anyway. Lieut, General Newbold made that point in his essay in TIME last week, when he wrote that Rumsfeld marginalized former Army General Eric Shinseki after the Chief of Staff suggested in a hearing before Congress that much larger forces would be needed following the invasion. "They only need the military advice when it satisfies their agenda," said Major General John Riggs, who spoke



GREG NEWBOLD Lieut. General



PAUL D. EATON Major General



JOHN RIGGS

Major General







ANTHONY C. ZINNI



SWANNACK JR.

What distinguishes the latest rebellion is that the retired generals are taking on their old boss not over policy or budgets but the operation of an ongoing war

out on National Public Radio last Thursday. While the military's reproach is the most remarkable, it follows some public criticism of Rumsfeld from the civilian side of the Administration that seems to signal he is no longer feared. Last month, Condoleezza Rice acknowledged "tactical errors, thousands of them" in the conduct of the war. That remark, which Rice later characterized as a figure of speech, led Rumsfeld to respond, "I don't know what she was talking about, to be perfectly honest," And though he bears some responsibility for overstating the case for war before the invasion, Powell took aim at his old rival Rumsfeld too, saying last week. "We made some serious mistakes in the immediate aftermath of the fall of Baghdad. We didn't have enough troops on the ground. We didn't impose our will. And as a result, an insurgency got started,

and ... it got out of control." Retired Marine Zinni has said the best outcome would be for Rumsfeld to resign rather than force Bush to fire him. But several well-placed Republicans say that Rumsfeld's fate may be as much in the hands of the Vice President as in the President's. Although Rumsfeld is more responsible than any other man for the rise of Dick Cheney during the 1970s, their roles have since reversed, and now the protégé is protecting the mentor. Between the two of them, Cheney and Rumsfeld have run the Pentagon for almost 12 of the last 32 years. It's the federal agency each knows best, and neither man has any patience for insubordination from men and women in uniform. Cheney began his four-year stint as Defense Secretary in 1989 by publicly scolding Air Force General Larry Welch, who lobbied for missile programs without Cheney's O.K. Not long after, Chenev fired Welch's successor for making unauthorized statements to reporters before the first Gulf War in 1990. "The possibility of Rumsfeld leaving has definitely crossed the President's mind," the former White House official told TIME last week. "The key to it is the relationship with Cheney, and I don't know where that is right now."

But there is also the question of Rumsfeld's ability to function along the Pentagon's polished corridors. A veteran of the highest level E-Ring meetings predicted that Rumsfeld will wonder whether he is hearing what the uniformed officers are really thinking. A natural instinct in that situation, he added, would be to invite fewer military officers to high-level meetingsthus potentially adding to the distance between the uniforms and the civilians.

A friend who recently spent the weekend with Rumsfeld and his wife predicted Rumsfeld would stay for the duration: "They will have to pry him from his stand-up desk with a crowbar." In Cairo last week, Rumsfeld tried to take it all in stride. "If every time two or three people disagreed, we changed the Secretary of Defense of the United States, it would be like a merry-go-round." But Rumsfeld may again be underestimating the strength of an insurgency-this one in his own backvard. Other retired officers are expected to make their views known soon. Which means this Revolt of the Generals has yet to run its course. -With reporting by Mike Allen, Perry Bacon Ir., Matthew Cooper, Sally

B. Donnelly and Mark Thompson/Washington

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Jeff Israely/Corleone

# How the **Tractor**Was Mowed Down

After 43 years on the run, La Cosa Nostra's boss of bosses finds himself out of hideaways—and fresh laundry

OU HAVE NO IDEAWHEN YOU'VE DONE, "THE 73-YEAR-OLD man muttered after he failed to but the farmhouse door to Renato Cortese, the police officer who had burst through to take him into custody. Cortese brushed off the remark as a typical bad guy's prio formap plea of innocence. He was certain he had his man. The soft-spoken, cigas-smoking cop with a sall- and-peper beard had been on the hunt for seven years, staring at versionafter version of sketches of the fugitive. "Tel had dreams about him, of his face, of the capture," he said. When the actual moment arrived, even Cortesés quarry—who had been at large for four decades—understood the jig was up. "We just looked each other in the eye." Corteses lodd Thas. "We knew it was over for both of lus."

After 43 years, Bernardo Provenzano, the Sicilian Mafia's elusive cano dei cani the boss of bosses. was run to ground just a mile west of the town of his birth. Corleone, a place made famous by the fictional protagonists in Mario Puzo's saga The Godfather Provenzano had run the enormous La Cosa Nostra crime organization by way of messages on slips of paper, called pizzini, smuggled out from his hiding places over the years. But Cortese finally found him by following peripatetic packages of clean Provenzano's wife in Corleone. Each delivery of clothing went from way station to way station until it finally reached a farmhouse. At around 10 a.m. on April 11. Cortese, belly down in the brush on a hilltop less than a mile

away, stared through high-pow-

saw a hand reach out and take a

ered Celestron binoculars and

Palermo

Cortone

McZojsso

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#### FOUR DECADES OF FUGITIVE LIFE

A 1989 instal
"Bennie the Tractor,"

Michigan denter one
Local de Symmetrie

package of laundry dropped off by a man from Corteone. It was the first time Corteose had seen any sign of life from inside the farmhouse after days of surveillance. "When I saw someone take the package, I was pretty sure it was him," says Cortese, 41. "The adrenaline was pumping: After an impromptu hushed meeting with his team in the

woods. Cortese and the police piled into a wn and rolled slowly down the hill to the properly. Revolver drawn. Cortese led the charge, busting open the plate-glass outer door. Provenzano's odyssey was over. He was going to prison for life, having been convicted in absentia on multiple counts of murder.

His appearance was amazingly consistent with the speculative police portraits drawn over the years; the last known photograph was taken in 1959. The boss had evaded capture by living a peasant's life, by counting on over from

the locals—and perhaps on the strength of his hit-man nick-name "Bernie the Tractor." (You didn't want to be mowed down by Bennie). Cortese actually came close to Provenzano in January 2001, but his target slipped away during a raid near the town of Mezzojuso. Last year, after 50 of Provenzano's





aides were captured in a sweep. Cortese said it was logical that Provenzano might move closer to his hometown. "If we'd scorched the earth around him, where would he go? We figured he'd go to where his oldest friends were."

They were right. In the farmhouse near Corleone. Provenzano stayed tucked safe-





Provenz mo in custody, top; was tourni, left; result the where he issued Mob



arrests. Two days after Provenzano's capture, the shack where he had slept and worked was sealed off as police conducted forensic studies. But a walk through the adjoining barn and makeshift area for producing cheese offered the sour smell of turned sheep's milk and a scene strewn with strainers, aluminum buckets filled with blocks

of Pecorino cheese and a large hag of salt. Hanging on the wall were pictures of the Virgin Mary and the Catholic saint Padre Pio. and four 2006 freebie calendars, none of which had yet been turned to April. The squalid conditions were "evidence of [Provenzano's] dedication to pure power," Interior Under Secretary Alfredo Mantovano



#### WHO WILL BETHE NEXT CAPO?

Matteo Messina Denaro. left, and Salvatore Lo Piccolo, Like Proventa each has been on the run from the law for years

told TIME. "He had acquired this perverse charisma, a figure who appears to take nothing for himself for the opportunity to rule over everyone else." Provenzano grew up poor in

Corleone. The real-life don began his rise after World War II. when he and his paesano Totò Riina did much of the whacking for rising boss Luciano Liggio. In 1958 Riina and Provenzano led a deadly ambush on the ruling boss Michele Navarra, leaving Liggio the undisputed godfather. Provenzano disappeared into the hills in 1963 after an internal Mafia feud erupted. When Liggio died in prison in 1993, Riina took over as top boss, with Provenzano as his No. 2. Riina was captured the same year and remains behind bars. Provenzano transformed the Mafia into a less violent, more economically efficient machine after Riina's bloody war with the Italian state in the 1980s and early 1990s put the squeeze on La Cosa Nostra.

Giuseppe Lumia, a member of the Italian Parliament's anti-Mafia commission, says the arrest is ultimately a chance to get closer to the core of Italy's organized-crime problem. "We need to take it to the next step, to break the Mafia's bonds with elements of the political and economic system," he says. But the arrest can also cut another way. Remember what Provenzano said? "You have no idea what vou've done." Lumia is worried that those words may signal a





gators hope will lead to further



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# The Tomatoes of Wrath

With Hamas in power, Palestinians face financial shortfalls, shortages and spoiled vegetables

By PHIL ZABRISKIE GAZA CITY

HE COATS WERE HAPPY, BUT THE PEOple feeding them were forlorn as they dumped loads of unsellable cherry tomatoes in the scrub of central Gaza. Hundreds of tons of the vegetable used to be exported from the area, but last week the Palestinian Economic and Development Authority, which operates greenhouses abandoned by Israeli settlers, could only trash much of the crop. Since Hamas' electoral victory in the Palestinian territories. Israel has, in effect, blocked commerce by virtually sealing the borders, citing continued attacks by Palestinian militants. The closings also prevent almost all imports. Now anxious U.N. workers in Gaza City fret that they will soon run out of food to hand out to even more anxious Palestinian refugees. Walid Safiz, 28, a vendor selling sundries at the Friday market in Gaza City, said business was down 80% because, with international financing and subsidies frozen, the government can't pay its roughly 160,000 civil servants. Says Safiz: "If they don't get salaries, they don't buy anything." On Saturday, Palestinian cops, angry over unpaid salaries, stormed a government building.

Since taking power on March 29. Hamas, refusing to recognize Israel's right to exist, has been scrambling to respond to the chief consequences of victory: a freeze in funding to the Palestinian government by the U.S. and many members of the European Union. For now, Hamas leaders, facing dwindling postelection optimism. can be glad that popular frustration and anger are pointed at Israel, the U.S. and Europe. Flexibility on the part of the international community would ease their difa way to stem the crisis or risk having opprobrium turned its way.

There is scarce room for maneuvering: most international capitals have chosen not to receive Hamas' leaders. Pledges of funding from a handful of Arab countries-even if delivered-wouldn't make up the financial shortfall. Israel has sus-



#### TIT FOR TAT: After a Palestinian rocket attack, Israelis destroyed this greenhouse

pended monthly payments of approximately \$50 million in tax and customs revenues it collects for the Palestinians. And it will not talk to Hamas until it halts attacks on Israel by all Palestinian factions. Even as Hamas, which has itself held to a cease-fire. tries to stem attacks by other militants, Israel says it will continue to retaliate, increasing economic damage.

Prime Minister Ismail Haniya lashed out at Israel and the West last Tuesday for trying "to force our people to kneel down." But his administration is searching for ways out of the crisis, which might mean making conciliatory gestures toward Israel. According to Sami Abu Zuhri, a Hamas spokesman in Gaza, Hamas as an organization will not recognize Israel and would seek only an "interim solution" to the current impasse, but spokesmen for the government, as well as some Palestinian officials. have suggested that almost all options could be on the table-including, perhaps, recognition in some roundabout form-if Israel in return would withdraw to the 1967 borders and close all settlements in the West Bank. "Hamas has made significant strides to evolve, which have so far not been internationally acknowledged," says Nicolas Pelham, senior Middle East analyst with As focused as Hamas must be on estab-

lishing international ties, it must also watch rival factions at home, particularly the party it ousted from power, Fatah. Already Haniya's administration is sparring with President Mahmoud Abbas, who belongs to Fatah, over control of Palestinian security forces. And it is not just Fatah. A member of Islamic Jihad who called himself Abu Aziz told TIME his cadres will continue firing homemade Qassam rockets into Israel.

Resolving those problems will require a subtlety that so far seems in short supply. At a rally in Jabalya refugee camp on Friday. Haniya addressed a crowd of thousands, making no policy statements but instead trying to gird his listeners for future struggles. "We are facing an unholy alliance led the poor and oppressed Palestinian people," he said. "We will not give in, and attempts to isolate the government will fail." After he finished speaking, a throng surrounded his car. He drove slowly away, supported, exalted, but with his thoughts and plans, much like Hamas', still a mystery. -With reporting by

-ISMAIL HANIYA.

We will not give in, and attempts to isolate the government will fail. The Palestinian Prime Minister

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GLOBAL BUSINESS



# The Dark Core Of a Diamond

A broken engagement sends one man on a revealing trek through the GEM in this exclusive book excerpt



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#### TOM ZOELLNER

THE ODDS WERE EXCELLENT THAT THE DIAMOND IN THE ENGAGEment ring I gave my fiancée had passed through the De Beers chain. At the time I bought it in 2000, the cartel controlled up to 75% of the world's rough diamonds. The most likely point of originstatistically speaking-was the mine at Orapa in Botswana. But the symbol of my love also could have come from Russian Siberia or the Premier Mine in South Africa or from the war spoils of Angola. There was no way to trace its history, except to say De Beers' office in London was the probable point of transfer to America. The dia-

mond easily outlasted my busted engagement, but retracing its trip from the mine to me would reveal a world of conflict. competition, bloodshed and a remarkable global-marketing machine.

#### THE CARTEL

THE ADDRESS IS 17 CHARTERHOUSE Street. Ten times every year, near the open-air stalls of Smithfield Market in central London, about 80 of the diamond world's most powerful men meet here. Each client is led into a second-floor room. Coffee and tea are offered. An attendant comes back with what looks like a yellow-and-black plastic lunchbox. Inside are gem diamonds of all varying types and sizes. There are no negotiations over price, only an implied choice: Take it or

leave it. These events are called "sights," and the host is De Beers Consolidated Mines Ltd. The stones passed out here represent slightly fewer than half the total carats released to the world every month. To be a "sightholder" means you have convinced De Beers you will not make waves by selling too much from the box at wholesale or by protesting the quality of your allotment. You are virtually guaranteed to make a healthy profit from your box, whose cost can

range from \$1 million to \$30 million.

De Beers has managed the remarkable feat of operating a 17th century economic model in a 21st century world. Fluctuations of supply and demand are not tolerated. Three floors beneath us are a series of vaults that contain the world's largest stockpile of unpolished diamonds-the best estimates put it at half a billion dollars. To De Beers, they remain much more valuable right where they are. The continuing stability of the diamond industry depends on an artificial scarcity that De Beers has

worked hard to create.



SIERRA LEONE A diamond found in the Sewa River. A monitoring body tries to separate clean gems from "conflict diamonds"



CAFUNFO, ANGOLA At a diamond deal

Most spectacularly, after geologists in the Soviet Union came across a huge field of diamonds in the Siberian tundra in 1956, De Beers made an unprecedented offer: it would buy the entire run at a guaranteed price. The profits-estimated at \$25 million a year-bolstered the Kremlin's treasury and helped fund the buildup of nuclear arms. The Russian gems went into the vaults under Charterhouse Street. When the Soviet Union unraveled in 1990, De Beers went back to Moscow, offering the transitional government \$1 billion in exchange for part of the nation's stockpile of Siberian diamonds. Diamonds were a \$40 billion retail business by the 1990s. Only one thing could threaten its position-a large supply of stones outside the grasp of the cartel

gravel from the

In a corner of the Australian Outback, it finally happened. At the bottom of a tunnel near Barramundi Gap, warm water was seeping from the rocks. That was a clue to a find that now produces about 100,000 carats of dull-brown rough every day and has about I trillion carats left to give. The Argyle Diamond Mine is the richest in the world in terms of the sheer number of stones, but they are small and dingy, mostly the color of breakfast tea. They seemed destined to end up as knife blades, dental tools and drilling bits.







recious stones



SURAT, INDIA A worker in a diamond-polishing factory breaks for lunch. His labor turns low-quality diamonds into a major export



SURAT Diamond merchants here captured trade once dominated by New York City, Israel and Belgium

Like every other new diamond mine of consequence, it was co-opted by De Beers. Trouble erupted almost immediately. The cartel's directors started telling Argyle to stockpile a good portion of its diamonds to counterbalance a wave of smuggled stones coming in from the Angolan civil war. The agreed price per carat also dropped from \$12 to around \$9 in the first year of the partnership. By 1966 the Australians had had enough, Argyle would try to sell directly to Indian manufacturers through a Bombay office. The cartel tired a power play: it dumped \$400 million of cheap rough into India to undercut the price of Argyle's diamonds.

De Beers' fear tactics failed. The Australians had managed to fashion a new branding identity for their brownish stones. Attractive phrases were coined to describe unappealing goods: "champagne diamonds," "cogane diamonds." This was an ironic rehash of an unsuccessful De Beers campaign in the 1940s to unload brown diamonds on the U.S. market. A globalization dramap falyed out on a grand scale as millions of Australian gerns were present into rings in Indian factories and shirmed to America. Learn and alsease horse.

a grand scale as millions of Australian gems were pressed into rings in Indian factories and shipped to America, Japan and elsewhere. By the end of 2004, the legendary "single channel" instituted by the British imperialist Cecil Rhodes had sprung so many leaks that De Beers controlled slightly less than half the world's supply of rough diamonds, down from 80% just a few years before. Now it was seeking to reinvent itself again as a branding tool, It still had half a billion rough in the vaults, plus a brilliant advertising team and the power to bend its remaining sightholders to its will.

#### M ANGOLA

JONAS SAMMBL DIED IN A WAYTHAT MIGHT ALMOST HAVE PLEASED him. It took I? Dullet's to bring him down. The Maoist-trained guerrilla leader who had bankrolled his army with millions of illicit diamonds was dead. The government of Angola signed a peace teast with Savimbis rebel army less than two months later. The news was greeted with quiet celebration in the diamond quarters of Antwerp and New York. Angola had virtually invented "blood diamonds"—the stones used to finance civil wars in Africa. Savimbi and his movement had been responsible for up to half a million carats a year, bartered for AK-47s and rocket-propelled grenades. Savimbi's death in the spring of 2002 paved the way for Angola's entry into the plan for gem certification known

#### TIME GERBAL BUSINESS

as the Kimberley Process, which the diamond industry had been forced to create the year before under pressure from the U.N.

"We didn't want to become another fur." a diamond executive told me. Any nation that exports diamonds is required to seal the stones inside a tamperproof container with a document certifying that they were not mined in the midst of a war. Angola was brought into the system 11 months after Savimbi's assassination. But Savimbi's death brought no peace to the diamond fields. In some ways, it made things worse. Poorly paid government troops, as well as defeated rebel veterans, were sud-

NEW YORK CITY A Fifth Avenue jeweler helps a customer try on a ring. Even fine diamonds hav efeated rebel veterans, were suddenly left without an enemy to fight, though they had their weapons.

Just before I arrived in Angola, the bodies of four men were pulled out of the Cuango River. All had been eviscer-



TOKYO, JAPAN
A diamond Hello
Kitty (with a ruby
ribbon, sapphire nose
and onyx eyes) sold for

have patience, this is easy," Amvalin told me.

There are more than
4,000 workers in this factory,
which is the largest one in
Surat and claims to be the large
est diamond-polishing facility
in the world. The owner, Chandrakant Sanghavi, told me he moves
more than 10 million diamonds out of his

plant every year. Diamonds were the revolution India needed, he said. They were bringing jobs and housing to people who had nothing before. In less than a decade of wild growth, the stones had affected the household economies of 10 million people in the state of Cujurat—meaning that person, or somebody in his or her family, had a job polishing diamonds 12 hours a day at 10e a stone. This was a mass of people equivalent to the population of Los Angeles. "We are doing something big here", said Sanghavi. "This will change India."

This was the genius of india. It takes in the garbage of the diamond world, Japa 58 facets on it, sets it in gold and sends it on. These tiny specks are now the fifth most valuable export of a nation that hasn't mimed diamonds from its own soil for more than a centrury. India's factories, processing an astonishing 92% of the world's diamonds today, have stolen the majority of business away from the old master craftsmen of New York City, Israel and Belgium.

#### II JAPAN

THE JAPANESE HAD NO NEED FOR DIAMONDS. THE ENGAGEMENT RING had no place in their historical notion of romance. No rings were ever exchanged. But in the mid-1960s, the De Beers cartel looked at Japan and saw potential. The J. Walter Thompson advertising agen-

### "We didn't want to become another fur," a diamond executive told me

ated. The assumption was that the killers had been searching for missing stones in the dead men's digestive tracts. "Of course, these are 'blood diamonds,' "said Rafael Marques, a researcher with the Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa who is trying to document the human-rights abuses." In some senses, it is even more bloody than a war diamond. It used to be one enemy attacking another. Now you have private security firms and government soldiers literally slaughtering people."

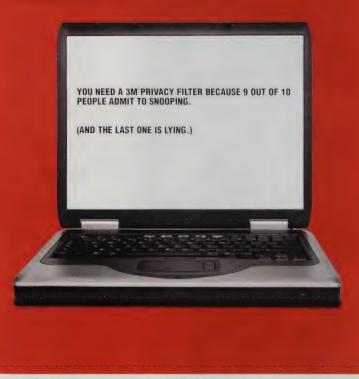
#### HINDIA

WHAT INDIA OFFERS IS SWEAT. IT WAS AT LEAST 90° AT MIDDAY inside the Sanghavi Diamond Co. plant in the northern India city of Surat, where hundreds of men were grinding stones on spinning metal wheels. Four men were assigned to each wheel, hunched around it like poker players around a pot 1 watched a young man named Manesh Anwalin putting facets into a tiny stone. His hands were covered with perspiration. He had already done 25 diamonds that day and he would be paid the equivalently of mine each. "If you

cy was hired to flood the Japanese media with advertising touting the rings as a symbol of Western sexuality and prosperity. In 1966 less than 1% of Japanese women received a diamond ring when they married By 1981 that figure had rocketed to 60%. And after another decade of sustained advertising, close to 90% of Japanese brides got diamond rings when they married. Japan had become the world's second largest consumer of diamonds.

HOW DO YOU GET RID DE SOMETHING LIKE THISP A PHIEND SUCCESSTED that I post it on e Bay. I could hurl it into the Atlantic Ocean. I could sell it back to a jeweler. But then I would be contributing, in a tiny way, to a trade that brings misery to millions of people across the world. In the end, this seemed my only option. The jeweler, a gregarious man, chatted with me as he worked on the gold prongs that held the diamond in place. "What's going to happen to it?" I saked. "TII put it into a new setting, try to sell it in the store," he said. I looked at it for what I knew would be the last time. Its memory would be enset the second I walked out the door.





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# Whale On the Plate

Why Japan fights for commercial whaling in a

BY UNMESH KHER AND TOKO SEKIGUCHI TOKYO

A LITTLE AFTER NOON ONE MONday in late January, a buzz of anticipation filled the cafeteria of the No. 1 Elementary School in the sleepy former whaling town of Shirahama. Wakayama Prefecture, Japan, Thanks to the exertions of the local fisheries association and board of education, the 21 young scholars in the

room were about to get a special treat with their workaday portions of milk, rice, salad and mandarin oranges: marinated, deepfried fillet of whale. The greasy feast was one of 704 similar lunches the board has provided to 339 schools in the prefecture since January 2005. "Reaction from parents has been uniformly positive," declared princi-

pal Yukio Hamanaka. Ditto for the students, who played paper-rock-seissors to divvy up seconds.

The lunch was part of a campaign launched by Japan's central and local governments to save the country's most controversial cuisine from extinction. Even as Japan steps up efforts to end the 19-year moratorium as much as gets eaten annually.

on commercial whaling imposed by the International Whaling Commission (IWC), its seafood-loving citizens are less and less enthusiastic about tucking into the catch. As a result, trade inventories of the tough, gamy meat have climbed 1,000 tons since the late 1990s, to around 3,000 tons today-about

> The average Japanese, who clearly prefers watching whales to eating them, ingests barely an ounce of the meat each year, compared with 13 lbs. of beef, 22 lbs, of chicken and 79

> > lbs. of fish. Japan is grimly determined. however, to expand its whaling business, in part as

cover for its \$14 billion commercial fishing industry, which is increasingly being targeted by other environmental bodies. Although slackening demand has pushed wholesale prices of whale meat down 10% to 30% over the past year alone, it remains costly, at a wholesale rate that ranges between \$3.70 and \$70 per lb., depending on the cut. The marbled tail meat is prized by connoisseurs. as is whale sashimi, which is eaten with grated ginger or garlic to mask the odor. "I've had the meat," says Miki Ikari, 30, an account manager in Tokyo, "and I wasn't impressed. It could disappear from the earth, and I wouldn't miss it one bit."

That isn't likely to happen anytime soon. Like its whaling ally Iceland, Japan gets its meat by exploiting a loophole in the twc's moratorium that permits members to cull whales for scientific study-a practice cetologists now consider mostly unnecessary because of advances in tracking and DNA technology. The hunting itself is done by



■ Whale sashimus. served up at Taruichi. a chain restaurant

whaling stems from concerns about what it considers the excessive regulation of

marine resources-a crucial issue for a country that consumes a third of the world's catch of tuna. Japan has repeatedly been accused of overfishing. "If we allow whaling to be banned on the basis of unscientific reasons and value judgments," says Moronuki, "the [restrictions] may extend to other fisheries as well."

So Japan has been doling out aid to developing members of the IWC, such as the Pacific islands of Nauru and Tuvalu, to line up support ahead of the annual meeting in St. Kitts and Nevis this June. "If the pro-whaling forces succeed in achieving a simple majority this year," says Austra-

### "If the pro-whaling forces succeed ... it'll set back the cause of conservation."

Japan's only whaling fleet, owned by Kyodo Senpaku Kaisha of Tokyo, a shipchartering firm. Sales of the meat are used solely to fund Japan's Institute of Cetacean Research (ICR), which conducts the studies. "The two convention stipulates that any by-product be processed and used," explains Hideki Moronuki of the Fisheries Agency. But independent scientists say the slaughter is wildly disproportionate to the research it produces.

There will be plenty to process when Kyodo Senpaku's fleet returns this month. Japan has in recent years steadily upped the number of whales it harpoons around the Antarctic, despite repeated condemnations from the IWC. The group last year voted against the country's plans to expand its quota: Japan has done so anyway. This year its "scientific" expedition is scheduled to haul in 1,240 whales, mainly minkes, but also 100 sei whales, 10 sperm whales and 10 fin whales, all of which are endangered. That's twice as many as were taken in 2000, more than even the number hauled in by Norway, which simply ignores the moratorium. Next year Japan plans to bag 50 humpbacks, the endangered giants famous for their spectacular breaches and eerie subaqueous songs. Stanford University cetologist Stephen Palumbi says their addition to the scientific catch will confound attempts to monitor poaching through the DNA testing of meat, a method that has proved remarkably effective in recent years.

Frustrated by Japan's defiance of the IWC-and the nation's insistence on hunting in the Southern Ocean Whale Sanctuary around Antarctica-Greenpeace led a campaign this year to boycott goods sold by companies with a stake in Kyodo Senpaku, including Nippon Suisan Kaisha, better known as Nissui. The \$4.3 billion conglomerate owns Gorton's, one of the largest suppliers of frozen seafood in the U.S. Late last month Kyodo Senpaku abruptly announced that Nissui and four other firms that held a stake in the company would donate their shares to "public interest" corporations, including the ICR. The firms involved insist that the boycott had nothing to do with their decision. But their withdrawal effectively ends corporate Japan's engagement in whaling.

The government isn't backing down. Japan's official line is that its culture is entwined with whaling. Some Japanese communities have a long tradition of hunting whales, but the meat wasn't eaten widely until the lean years after World War II, when it provided an abundant supply of protein during chronic food shortages. The average Japanese was eating only 13 oz. of the meat annually by 1980, seven years before the twc moratorium took effect.

Still, while most Japanese may not care for the meat, many object to calls to stop whaling. "I couldn't care less if I don't eat another whale until the day I die," says Kenii Yamashiro, 35, a systems engineer in Tokyo. "But I don't like to be told what I can or can't eat by anyone other

than my doctor." Above all, Japan's stance on to a factory ship

▶ Whaling antagonist

lia's Environment Minister, Ian Campbell, who locked horns with Japanese delegates last year. "it'll set back the cause of conservation." For one thing, Japan will be able to put an end to those pesky condemnations of its scientific quota. Ending the moratorium, however, would require the support of 75% of the IWC membership, and Campbell says that won't happen. But then, as far as Japan is concerned, absolute victory is probably beside the point. -With reporting



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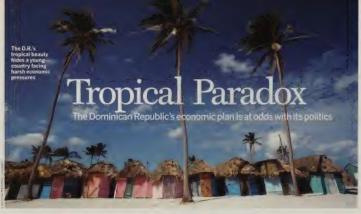






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BY KEN STIER SANTO DOMINGO

IT'S PRETTY CLEAR THAT LEONEL FERNÁNDEZ, 53, AND NOW MIDWAY through his second, nonconsecutive term as President of the Dominican Republic, has the vision thing. When developers proposed the country's first modern port during his first term, "he got it right away—"We can be the Singapore of the Caribbean"—his words," recalls Dominican businessman Samuel A. Conde, who is looking to set up a regional logistics center.

More recently Fernández has been pitching his island as a site for movie productions. He hired a Florida firm to act as the country's national film commission, and he had Robert De Niro over for lunch at the Presidential Palace.

Perhaps even more audacious, for a country still rebounding from a colossal banking scandal, the D.R. is trying to germinate a new \$800 million regional financial center. "Leonel Fernández is very much a vision man ... This is exactly the

sort of visionary project he absolutely loves," says 
Gaetan Bucher, a 
Swiss-Dominican 
banker and the lead 
investor in what will 
essentially be an 
offshore entity, first 
trading Latin American debt and later 
offering a safe haven

for private wealth and corporate banking. There are many other parts to Fer-

nández's vision of how to win a better place in a globalized world. Making the rest of the country's economy as competitive as its beaches requires enhancing current strengths as an assembly export platform (more than 500 companies operate from its free-trade zones) and retaining a bigger share of its foreign-investor-dominated tourism industry, which accounts for 2% of the country's \$29.1 billion

DOMINICAN

CDP. It also means diversification. The challenge is an urgent one: 80% of the country's 9 million inhabitants are under 40, and 42% live in poverty. More than 12% of them have already left, mostly for the U.S. They send back

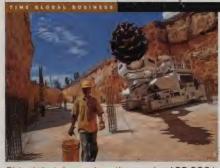
almost \$3 billion in yearly remittances. Fernández has a record of delivering.

During his first term (1996-2000), the D.R. enjoyed the highest growth rate in the Latin American region. His successor and predecessor, Hipôlito Mejia, presided over a banking scanda in 2003 that triggered an economic nosedive that wiped out 20% of COP (imagine 28.28 trillion disappearing in the U.S.) and plunged an additional 1 million Dominicans into poverty. Since retaking the top job 20 months ago, Fernández has put the country back on the mend. restoring macroeconomic stability and business confidence. Last year's growth soared 9.2%, with single-digit inflation, down from 28.7% in 2004-8.

That is not to say all is well. "The country trusts him with the economy, but he does not seem to pay that much attention to social issues;" says José Oyiedo, a sociologist at a local Catholic university. That's just what soured voters on his first term: prosperity that did not seem to reach enough people. The problem is a trickle-down economic and political system that is still evolving from the dark, authoritarian past of the Rafeal Trujillo era that left mere crumbs for social expenditures. Forty-five years later, the economy has dramatically diversified from its plantation foundations of sugar and coffee.

Still, the system is riddled with privileges for the politically well connected, leaving the majority of Dominicans eking out a living in the underpaid informal sec-

# emerging markets





### China's hot dragon breath vaporized 20,000 low-skilled jobs in recent years

tor. Spending on health and education is anemic, even by regional standards, and the rule of law is a work in progress. An unusually candid recent United Nations Development Program report torched the country's élites for being out for themselves with no sense of the commonweal.

It is unclear just how much Fernández means to challenge this, even though his Dominican Liberation Party (PLD) is slightly left (but pro-business) and his upbringing quite modest. His mother fled the island to work as a seamstress in a New York City garment factory, which afforded Leonel some formative years in New York City's Upper West Side. To many, Fernández seems more fixated on consolidating power than on advancing his government's ambitious agenda. His government, for example, is spending almost as much building a subway line-\$700 million-as it does on education and health together. And despite his rhetorical intolerance of corruption, Fernández hasn't seriously challenged the country's long-standing culture of impunity enjoyed by thieving élites. "Leonel is the most capable politician we have, and he understands very well what the country needs to do to modernize, but politically he is proving to be very traditional, indulging in the most perverse forms of Dominican politics, paternalism and corruption," says Pedro Catrain, a deeply disappointed friend from law school. Fernández, for his part, has said fighting corruption is a hallmark of his administration.

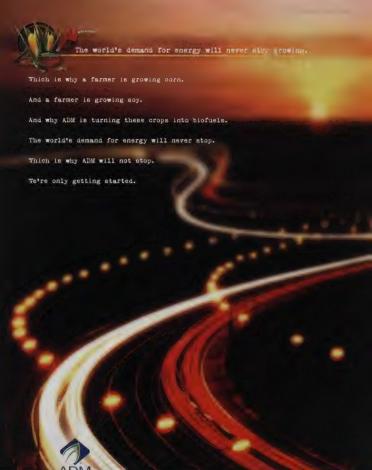
It's probably too early for unequivocal

verdicts, but it seems fair to say that Fernández often appears to be trying to have it both ways. Take the recently concluded free-trade agreement with the U.S. Fernández gets points for pushing the Dominican Congress to go along, but with nearly 90% of its exports going to the U.S., the country really had little choice. And Fernández's party delayed implementation, which allowed a pipeline of infrastructure projects to go to favored contractors without the fuss of open bidding required by the new accord. That includes the subway contract, which went to Diandino Peña, who is Fernández's biggest financial supporter. "Transparency is an evil word here," says Kevin P. Manning, president of the local American Chamber of Commerce. Fernández has likened the subway to Paris' Eiffel Tower, which also faced opposition.

The country's economic troubles have conveniently handed international donorswho ponied up more than \$1 billion to see it through the banking scandal-more leverage to drive reform. Most critical for business is the debilitated electricity sector: 45% of the national utility's receivables go unpaid, requiring a government subsidy of \$620 million last year. Such is the bitter fruit of decades of political favoritism, and donors such as the World Bank say they want to see an aggressive-and unprecedented-crackdown on delinquent customers, no matter how, uh, connected they are. "If you don't address the issue of the large consumers who don't pay, you have no chance of resolving the energy-sector crisis, except on the backs of the poor," says Caroline Anstey, the World Bank's Caribbean regional director.

The D.R. is going to need dependable power to fulfill Fernández's vision of deploying information technology to leapfrog the country into future-friendly industries. It could not come soon enough. China's hot dragon breath vaporized 20,000 lowskilled jobs in recent years-about 10% of the total in the free-trade zone, necessitating a move up-market. Good telecommunications could make the country suitable for outsourcing, including call centers, but the D.R. is just beginning to train the legions of computer-savvy English speakers it needs to make a dent in swelling youth unemployment. Only 10% of students finish high school.

One key barometer of where the D.R. is headed: the upcoming trial of the six alleged masterminds of the so-called BANINTER (Banco Intercontinental) scandal, in which \$2.5 billion was looted. For the first time, scions of some of the most élite families will be in the dock. It's a case expected to go to the D.R. Supreme Court, which has been the focus of recent U.S. efforts at judicial reform. The trial may be just as symbolic of the Dominican Republic's future as the new subway is. If the court's justice isn't perceived as fair, the D.R. will have a hard time slipping its banana-republic reputation, even though it will still have lovely beaches-and a subway.



TIME GLOBAL BUSINESS

# Who Do You Trust?

Wall Street rules have changed, but there are still conflicts to be avoided

BY DANIEL KADLEC

ONLY THREE YEARS AFTER NEW YORK ATTORNEY GENERAL ELIOT Spitzer cleaned up equities research on Wall Street, investors seeking advice on which stocks to buy and sell find themselves muttering a familiar question, Who do you trust? Independent analysts who are supposed to be conflict free aren't. Big-brokerage analysts, the "sell side" bunch, are doing better-but they have a long way to go. The answer, then, as ever on Wall

Street: Trust vourself and, maybe, your dog.

That doesn't mean you should dismiss Wall Street research out of hand. Much of what analysts produce is helpful, especially if what you seek is broad background on an industry. Occasionally, analyst conclusions are earth moving. Recent testimony in the trial of former Enron top dogs Kenneth Lay and Jeffrey Skilling revealed it was an analyst who first questioned the company's finances, prompting Skilling to fret aloud, "They're on to us."

PENDENT

own without doing some homework. Even professional money managers with access to the best minds on Wall Street do their own digging. "They look at research to either bolster their confidence or push them to ask more questions," says Michael Mayhew, CEO of Integrity Research Associates of Darien, Conn., which yets research for institutions.

Never adopt an analyst's opinion as your



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Make it happen

### global investing

Don't blame regulators for not going farenough in the cleanup campaign. A settlement reached in 2003 with 12 Wall Street firms forced disclosure of analyst conflicts, set axide \$400 million to fund and distributunbiased stock research to individual investors and linked analyst pay to the performance of stocks they pick. That's a lot better than the old days, when an analyst might tout stock of a 50-50 company purely to ingratiate himself with management.

Yet even under the new rules there is no guarantee that independent analyst advice is conflict free. Drug company Biovail has asserted that independent research firm Gradient Analytics wrote a report trashing the company, and that the report was paid for by a hedge fund that had sold Biovail short (a bet the stock would decline). Gradient has said its conclusions were its own.

The episode raises questions about the output of the 450 independent firms, most of which sprang up after the settlement. Are hedge funds paying for conclusions that

would move a stock in their direction? What else don't we know about how independent research firms operate? "The Gradient story hasn't helped their image," says Mayhew.

Meanwhile, brokerage analysts are slipping back into some bad habits. Sell ratings spiked to 12% of all opinions after the settlement, a sign that analysts were showing, some backbone. But that figure slipped to 9% last year, reports research firm StarMine. "There are still far too many buy ratings, and analysts (earnings) estimates are increasingly clinging around company guidance." Morgan Stanley strategists Henry McVey and David McNellis wrote in a recent report.

Here's how you can make good use of research:

■ Ignore any analyst rating that is more

#### Homework Pays Off

Annualized return on analysts' stock picks for the two years ending April 1:

Argus Research\* 131.9% Columbras Capital\* 120.2% Jefferes 191.1%

Ford Equity Research 15%
Deutsche Bank 13.4%
Bank of America 13.3%
Robert W. Baird 13.2%

Thomas Weisel 12.5%
Weiss Ratings\* 12.2%
Smith Barney 11.5%

than six months old. That just means the analyst has dropped the ball.

Analysts' revisions are more important than their ratings. So an upgrade from a sell to

a neutral rating is more useful information than a long-standing buy rating.

- Companies that a lot of analysts rate as buys and for which there is a wide range of earnings estimates tend to do well. Wideranging estimates signal that the analysts are doing their jobs, not just swallowing the company line.
- Research a research firm's and an analyst's record. Anyone can get hot, so look at a two- or three-year history. Free online tool Investars.com is a good place to start.

  When in doubt, favor independent analysts. The Gradient controversy notwithstanding, they have fewer potential conflicts.

Never adopt an analyst's opinion as your own without doing some homework





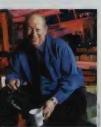
# **Chuck Brymer**

REBRANDING

distracted, multitasking multimedia table as the new CEO of DDB Worldwide, the advertising agency whose clients include

McDonald's and Johnson & Johnson, Brymer succeeds Ken Kaess, who died March 27. A former branding consultant, Brymer knows the importance of developing great ideas that form lasting impressions in our overcrowded minds. "Customers are smarter, more capable of tuning you out. he says. What was that, Chuck? Just kidding

# People to Watch In International Susiness



# Paul House

HIS CUP HUNNETH OVER Canadians were exuberant when Tim will spin off by year-end But CEO Paul House indications were that this

serves doughnuts, coffee and lunch fare in 2.611 outlets across awake at night. "We'll do just what we do in Canada. We offer a high-quality range of products at a really great price value."

#### Kate Swann

NEW VOICE FOR AN OLD FIRM

British Land made Swann the first woman director at the 150-year-old company. It is one of Britain's largest propertyinvestment firms, with holdings such as London's Broadgate

magazine and book retailer, brings valuable retail expertise. She is winning has the CEO experience that boards want and is a And worth the wait.



A PERSONAL ASSISTANT, BEAUTIFULLY DISGUISED AS A CAR. Beneath its exquisitely crafted exterior lies an abundance of leading-edge technologies. Each designed to perfectly orchestrate your life. It's a luxurious, attentive environment where your needs are the number-one priority. The RL. (MACURA BILIETOOTH -ENABLED HANDSPRETLINK - REAL-TIME TRAFFIC HONITORING - ZAGAT - RESTAURANT GUIDE - VOICE -ACTIVATED NAVIGATION



#### The four corners of the world.

Working in sync. Your company has great thinkers all over the globe. But how do you tap into that knowledge and get them to collaborate more effectively behind a shared vision? A customized document management solution from Ricoh can help. Our seamless global network enables us to assess, design and implement equipment and systems, as well as provide ongoing management and support to optimize your document workflow. So your entire enterprise, no matter how far-reaching, can be on the same page.

Create, share and think as one.



# **Wal-Mart's Bank Shot**

If the retailer gets its giant foot into the game, will small-town bankers—or high service fees—survive?

By JYOTI THOTTAM

HE FIRST NATIONAL BANK OF HOPE, Kans, a town where the noon whistle blows daily for its 400 residents, has survived all kinds of competition. The rural bank has remained independently owned for its entire 83 years, even through the Great Depression, says Dan Coup, its president and CEO. But Coup is worried that his bank may not survive what he sees on the horizon: Wal-Mart. "They could run so ut of business in a heartbeat."

Coup is one of the community bankers

who have turned a routine regulatory application into a individuals and experts on both sides. But most comments came from rural America, so the agency will hold another session next week in Overland Park, Kans. Coup will testify there, along with other bankers who believe that their businesses will soon be the next to feel the weight of Wal-Mart.

Don't think about a Wal-Mart Bank with ATMs, branches and tellers. Jane Thompson, who would be chairman of Wal-Mart Bank, says the new bank would have a "wery narrow role." Currently, every time a customer swipes a credit or debit card, Wal-Mart pays a fee to a bank for watching over the money tion Wal-Mart filed would allow it to request a changed business plan through the FDIC without necessarily going through the entire process again.

The real threat to banks, say Wal-Mart supporters, is that the company might someday attack the financial industry's juicy fee structure. Even a critic like Jorde concedes that if Wal-Mart were to offer savings accounts and consumer loans at its usual rockbottom prices, "the cost of banking services would decline, and consumers would say, 'This is great,'" Wal-Mart would also be in a good position to reach the 10 million households in the U.S. that don't use a bank account, says John Caskey, a professor of economics at Swarthmore and expert on the "unbanked." The company has already punctured the high cost of check cashing, which hits the unbanked hardest, by offering the service in its stores. Caskey says that with the

right mix of low-cost services—bill payment, money orders, check cashing and basic savings accounts—





referendum on the world's biggest retailer. Wal-Mart submitted a filing last July asking the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC), the agency that guarantees bank deposits, to create a new entity called Wal-Mart Bank. It won't be a regular bank at all; the company says it will do nothing but process credit- and debit-card payments internally. But the application generated so many comment letters—3,600 and counting—that for the first time in its history, the FDIC decided to hold public hearings on a deposit anylication.

The session last week near Washington attracted a parade of Wal-Mart's regular adversaries—unions, corporate activists, small-business owners—along with bankers,

for those few seconds as it moves between the customer's account and Wal-Mart's. By using its own bank, the company will save fractions of a penny on each transaction, yielding \$5 million to \$10 million a year, which it says can go toward lower prices.

Critics don't buy it and see the creditdebit function as the thin edge of the banking wedge. "I cannot believe they are doing all of this to save 85 million a year," the equivalent of about nine minutes of sales, says Terry Jorde, president and czo of Country Bank USA in Cando, N.D. The fear, says Lawrence White, a professor of economics at New York University, is that the company will do to retail banking what it has done in apparel and groceries. Indeed, the applicaWal-Mart could serve an overlooked, overcharged population already in its stores.

charged population aiready in its stores. The one thing a Wall-Mart Bank could probably never replace is the role of the small-town banker. With 8,000 charters, community banks have strong competition, and their deposits finance small businesses and home mortgages. Local bankers made a similar fuss, White says, when regulators allowed regional banks to expand, but most of the local banks found new ways to compete. Local bankers know better than most what happens to those who don't dapt to change. The closest Wall-Mart is 35 miles away, Coup says, but "I've seen the effects that it has on our local grocery store. It's now for sale."



# STEM CELLS

Tumor targeted

# Cancer is driven by its own kind of stem cells. Under

By ALICE PARK

TODAY'S TREATMENTS shrink tumors but do not necessarily take aim at the cause of most abnormal growthscancer stem cells

the human body and enjoying the best of all possible worlds. It is endowed with immortality, the remarkable ability to divide indefinitely. Each time it cleaves, it makes two daughter cells with different fates. One divides again and again and again. spawning hundreds of copies of itself before exhausting its powers of duplication and dving out. The other progeny is a

MAGINE A CELL NESTLED HAPPILY IN

bit more cunning, inheriting from its parent the gift of never-ending life. That cell resists the temptation to multiply and march to an inevitable death, choosing instead to divide only oceasionally and, by doing so, live forever.

It is that cell that is suddenly sparking the interest of cancer researchers and molecular biologists around the world. Known as a cancer stem cell, it could be the culprit behind a malignant tumor's

nasty habit of recurring

are able to eradicate the cancer stem cell. we will be able to cure patients." Those ideas are already changing the way doctors think about cancer. They are starting to set aside their decades-old obsession with reducing the bulk of a cancerous growth and appreciate instead that the vast majority of its mass is cellular noise, a distraction from the tiny percentage of cells-perhaps as few as 3% to 5%-that are the real culprits. At the latest meeting of

year after year and popping up in distant parts of the body long after the primary

growth is gone. Studies of that cell are

helping scientists unravel some of can-

cer's deepest secrets and leading doctors

closer to the ultimate goal of any cancer

therapy-a cure. Think of the stem cell as

a tumor's master print; as long as the orig-

inal exists, copies can be made, and the

disease can persist. But destroy the tumor

at its source, and the abnormal cells can't

survive. "This represents a conceptual rev-

olution in cancer biology," says Dr. Robert

Weinberg, a cancer-research pioneer at the

Whitehead Institute in Cambridge, Mass.

"This is going to explain the way a wide va-

riety of human cancers originate and the

way they grow," Says Dr. Jean-Pierre Issa.

a leukemia researcher at MD Anderson

Cancer Center in Houston, Texas: "If we

the American Association for Cancer Research, researchers at City of Hope Cancer Center in Duarte,

Calif., announced that they had isolated a group of stem cell-like cells in lungs that seed the abnormal

UNLESS STOPPED. those cellswhich can multiply indefinitely-will migrate to other parts of the body,

seeding new

tumors

TREATMENTS under development · that zero in on stem cells could prevent further growth. cutting off cancer at the source

TIME Graphic by Lon Tweeten

NEW TUMOR

> cells targeted

> > Tumor breaks up

growth of small-cell lung cancers. Scientists at Stanford University took the concept even further. They were able to isolate stem cells from breast-cancer tumors and identify a genetic signature that allowed them to predict the progression of the disease. "Everybody wants to talk about cancer stem cells now," says John Dick, a University of Toronto professor and one of the leading researchers in the field. "From funding agencies to institutions to scientists, people are recognizing that this is probably the zame to be in."

It's easy to see why. More than 30 years after the War on Cancer was declared. malignancies in all parts of the body are still managing to evade the best therapies thrown at them. For some leukemias, survival rates have not budged since the

plants. Some of the cell fractions developed into tumors in the animals, while others did not. That was the first proof that the cells in a cancer were not homogeneous. Some cells were more dangerous than others.

The challenge is to find a way to identify and isolate those cells. Scientists are starting with what they know, analyzing the proteins that stud the surface of normal stem cells and looking for proteins unique to the cancerous cells. So far, leukemia experts have the edge, working from the knowledge of blood stem cells they have been building since the 1940s. Dick's group in Toronto was the first to identify a protein, CD34, as a potential screen for leukemia stem cells. He showed that tumor cells with plenty of CD34, when injected into mise. flowered into cancer-

able to migrate easily from their birthplace to other parts of the body, where they can churn out more stem cells and launch new tumors. Eradicating those cells at their source might help control the spread of cancers like leukemia that flare from the blood to the bone marrow and other tissues. Blocking a stem cell's source of nutrients might be another effective strategy for drug development. Unlike normal stem cells, which tap into many different blood supplies for the oxygen and growth factors they need to survive, cancerous stem cells seem to have more addictive personalities. zeroing in on one source and siphoning off everything they need. Exploiting that dependency by finding and cutting off the source would provide another way to tack-

### tanding them could lead to new treatments—and maybe even a cure

1970s. To be sure, there are gentler and more sophisticated forms of chemotherapy and radiation, as well as elever new drugs like Gleevee and Herceptin that take better aim at cancerous cells. But those therapies treat all cancer cells as equals. The next generation of treatments, doctors say, needs to recognize and target the root cause of tumors. "It requires a reorientation in people's thinking," says Weinberg, "We need to focus on wiping out the stem cells rather than eradicating the pluk of the tumor.

Such a shift in thinking is already under way, thanks to the special nature of cancer stem cells. Unlike embryonic stem cells, which stir up moral and political passions because they can, in theory, be used to create an entire human being, cancer stem cells are mutated forms of adult stem cells that can only make copies of their own cell type, be it blood or skin or lung tissue.

What gives those adult cells their "stemness" is the ability to generate more stem cells like themselves (and thus continue to regenerate blood or skin tissue) and to churn out new generations of progeny to replace the cells that mature and die off.

The idea that the same process could be at work in cancer originated with leukemia researchers. In a series of studies in the 1990s, scientists began taking leukemia cells from human patients, separating out fractions of those cells and putting them into mice specially bred to tolerate human im-

Dick was the hirty scientist to toolar electrons as the scientist to toolar electrons as the scientist as th

ous growths. Leukemia cells without the protein, by contrast, did nothing. The hope is that once those "stem-

defining proteins are identified, they might be used as targets for drug therapies that could lead to better cancer treatments. Irv Weissman, the developmental biologist at Stanford University who first isolated the blood-forming stem cell, is working on pin-pointing just such a suite of proteins for leukemia.

Weissman and others are finding no shortage of targets. For one thing, cancer stem cells seem to be extremely mobile, It could be years before any of those approaches yields an approved treatment. But interest in the field is growing rapidly, thanks in part, paradoxically, to President George W. Bush's restrictions on embryonic-stem-cell research. Some of the federal funds that might otherwise have gone to embryonic stem cells could be finding their way into cancer-stem-cell studies. "Don't expect anything before five years," says Weissman, "but be angry if you don't see anything in 15 years." Cancer patients, mark your calendars.



IT'S NOT THE VILLAIN THAT *the da vinci code* sets it up to be. But it has been a mystery. An inside look at the most controversial group in Catholicism **b** by David van Biema

n early March, Elizabeth Heil, an arts-administrator graduate student at Columbia University, was watching previews in a movie theater on Manhattan's Upper West Side when she cracked up inappropriately.

The trailer was for the movie The Da Vinci Code, directed by Ron Howard and scheduled to open May 19, and it featured a grim-faced fellow uttering Christ's name repeatedly and then—ucham!—whating away at his already bloodied back with an Inquisition-sissue cate-o-intertails. It was not an intentionally furny scene But Heil, who was familiar with the book on which the movie is based, recognized the figure onscreen as the albino assassin Silas, a fanatical, murderous member of a bizarre Catholic goup called Opus Dei, and couldn't suppress a giggle. She is a member of the actual Opus Dei. "This is so outlandsh," she recalls thinking. "I wish we were that interesting."





The Da Vinci Code's Opus Dei-a powerful, ultraconservative Roman Catholic faction riddled with sadomasochistic ritual, one of whose members commits serial murder in pursuit of a church-threatening secret-is obviously not reflective of the real-life organization (although author Dan Brown's website states the portraval was "based on numerous books written about Opus Dei as well as on my own personal interviews"). Yet in casting the group as his heavy. Brown was as shrewd as someone setting up an innocent man for a crime. You don't choose the head of the Rotary. You single out the secretive guy at the end of the block with the off-putting ties. who perhaps has a couple of incidents in his past that will hinder an effective defense. That's not Heil, but it's not a bad sketch of the organization to which she belongs.

In its 78 years, Opus Dei has been a rumor magnet. Successful and secretive, it has been accused of using lavish riches and carefully cultivated clout to do everything from propping up Francisco Franco's Spanish dictatorship to pushing through its founder's premature sainthood to planting conservative minions in governments from Warsaw to Washington. Brown's freatment of the group had seemed to represent an untoppable highsewage mark—that is, until the movie trailer appeared. Says Juan Manuel Mora, director of Opus Dei's communications department in Rome: "Reading a print version is one thing. Seeing the color images is another."

Yet Mora and his colleagues have inaugunted a countertrend, in part by breaking their organization's historical silence. They spoke at length on record to John Allen, a respected print and television Vatican commentator, and offered him unprecedented access to Opus Dei records and personnel. In November he responded with Opus Dei: An Objective Look Behind the Myths and Reality of the Most Controversial Force in the Cathotic Church (Doubleday), probably the most informed and sympathetic treatment of the group ever penned by an outsider. Opus has since talked freely to other journalists, including TIME's.

But Opus' public relations offensive hasn't quite managed to close the gap between what critics say it is about and its own version of the story. On one side there is "Octopus Dei," or, as the current issue of Harper's magazine puts it, "to a great extent... an authoritatina nal semi-clandestine enterprise that manages to infiltrate its indoctrinated technocrats, politicos and administrators into the highest levels of the state." On the other is the portrait painted by Opus U.S. vicar Thomas Bohlin, who sat for several hours with Time at his group's Manhattan head-

### Can a Thriller Be Both Fair and Fun?

By RICHARD CORLISS

N JAN. 10. AT VILLA TEVERE, THE ROme headquarters of Opus Dei, a couple of dozen men convened in a chamber similar to the one in which The Da Winci Code's Bishop Aringarosa was handed £20 million in Vatican bonds to set his nefarious plot in motion. From London, Paris, Millian, Madrid, New York City, Lagos and Montreal they had come, to draft a plan against at man they felt posed the most virulent threat to their order-director Ron Howard.

Dan Brown's best seller (40 million copies in 44 languages, with 6 million paperbacks sold since they arrived in bookstores March 281 portrayed Opus Dei as an ecclesiastical Cosa Nostra. That was painful enough for the secretive Roman Catholic society. But the thought of having those words put into pictures called for direct action, especially after the group's attempts to negotiate with the fillimmakers were declined. "We could not just sit still and wait for the flagellation of the film itself," says Juan Manuel Mora, director of Opus Dei's communications department. "Nobody wanted a battle-ground. But not just siller either."

The society named its campaign Operation Lemonade "on the strength of the adage "flyou" is handed lemons, make lemonade," says Mora, who has not seen the film. "But more often it's simply Operation Da Vinci Code." The document produced at that January meeting had three talking TEAMWORK: Audrey
Tinitou and Tom Hanks
tinitou in Tine Da Vinci Code

points: 1) Turn the glare of publicity into a proselytizing opportunity. "We can either weep, or we can singour song," says Mora, postulating that some people, learning about the nonfeitoriand Opus Dei, will think, Well. it's not that bad. 2) Reach out for allies: "This film offeeds all Catholics, not just Opus Dei. It says the entire church is a big. let' 3) Engage only in measured discourse. Says Mora. "Any aggressive tone would have played into the marketing of the film."

The picture, which critics had expected to see this month, is not scheduled to be screened until its premiere at the Cannes Film Festival on May 17, two days before it opens in wide release in the U.S. Nor is



### Decoding the Secrets of Opus Dei

A guide to some frequently used terms
ASSOCIATES Members who follow the
most rigorous spiritual practices of Opus
Dei life (including celibacy) but do not
live in residence or retreat centers

◀ CILICE A spiked chain that some members strap around their upper thigh for two hours a day as an act of penance COOPERATORS Nonmembers who

support the group through prayer, volunteer work or financial contributions



there definitive word on the movie's treatment of Opus Dei or even whether the group's name is mentioned.

For outroach, the filmmakers hired are ligious marketing firm and consulted with Catholic scholars from Notre Dame and Harvard. But Brown's novel remains the movie's cannoual text. "People expect to see the book they read," says a source who warked on the film. "The filmmakers, however, were mindful of the concerns. When Opus Der officials see the movie. I wan't say they won't have any concerns, but those concerns will likely be much less than what they've been afraid of."

Howard wants the movie to be seen as

fauthful to the novel but not noxious to the faithful. With something as controversial as the," sost Howard, "I you try to soften the edges, you're kelding yourself. Either you're dealing with these ideas or you're not." Asked about the book's villamous catals, the acknowledges, "Yeah, Opus Dei is in the movie." Then, moments later, "I don't say tim the movie one way or the other"—binting that the society is described but not identified.

So there's the double paradox: the clandestine Opus Dei is opening up while The Da Vinci Code's publicity-savvy makers are clanming up.—Reported by Jordan Borfante/ Rome and leffrey Resauer/Los Anteles

DISCIPLINE A small, cordlike whip that some members use once a week to flagellate themselves during the recitation of a prayer

FIDELITY The act of pledging a lifetime commitment to the organization

THE NORMS Spiritual obligations that all members perform daily, including attending Mass, praying silently for 30 minutes twice a day and reciting the Rosary and other prayers usually after supper

NUMERARIES The most committed members, who take vows of celibacy, live in Opus Dei centers and practice corporal self-punishment

**NUMERARY ASSISTANTS** A subset of

the numerary class composed exclusively of women who perform domestic duties in Opus Der facilities "PAX" AND "IN AFTERNUM" The greetings of "Peace" and "In eternity"

greetings of Peace and ineternity
that members exchange

SUPERNUMERARIES The less formal
category of membership, which allows
people to have families and live in their

own homes

THE WORK The shorthand expression referring to "the Work of God," the English translation of Opus Dei

WHISTLING The act of writing a letter to request membership in Opus Dei, a reference to the sound of a kettle when it boils quarters. Opus, he explained, is just a teaching entity, a kind of advanced school for Catholic spiritual formation with minimal global coordination or input as to how members and sympathizers apply what they learn. "You know Dale Carnegie courses?" he asked. "Businesses send their people there to learn to speak better, to organize—they teach all these kinds of things. People go there because they get something out of it, and then when they graduate, they don't represent Dale Carnegie."

James Martin, an editor at the Jesuit publication America who has written critically about Opus, offers a middle ground between Dale Carmegie and the octopus; "Opus Dei provides members with an overarching spirituality for their life," he suggests. "It's an ongoing relationship that helps buttress and further shape the thought of people who are already conservative Catholics. That's a powerful symbiosis, and there's a personal connection between members, whether they're housewives or politicians. It's not an evil empire, but that doesn't mean there aren't serious issues that need to be addressed."

A first iournalistic pass, by Allen or

Time, cannot fully resolve all those issues. But it can answer some of the questions that have long dogged the organization, and it may also show how *The Da Vinei Code* could end up helping Opus Dei.

#### **HOW DID IT START?**

on oct. 2. 1928. A 36-FRAB-OLD SPANISH priest named Josemaria Exerciti was visited by a new vision of Catholic spirituality. a movement of pious laypeople-who would by prayerful contemplation and the dedication of their labor to Christ, extend the holiness of church on Standay into their everyday work life. Exervisis title for the movement was a literal description—Opus Dei means "the work of God"—and his ambitton was correspondingly large. He saw Opus eventually acting as "an intravenous injection [of holiness] in the Holoststeram of society."

It was controversial almost from birth. Opus threatened the ear's Catholic clericalism, which privileged priests, monks and nuns over the latty, and Escrivi was called a heretic. In the 1950s, several prominent Opus Dei members joined Franco's dictatorrial but church-supportive regime in Spain, inaugurating speculation about the group's political leanings. The church's Second Vatican Council (1962-65) seemed to catch up with Escrivás dead of lay activism—but his rigid adherence to Catholic teaching put his sostem at odds with liberals who accorded the laft's a wide freedom of conscience. He himself was a solarizing future, humble and grandiose, avuncular and ferocious. Opus grew slowly but steadily, remaining below the radar of most Catholics.

That all changed in 1982. Pope John Paul II, also a creative traditionalist interested in labor and faith, granted Escrivá's wish that Opus be a "personal prelature," a global quasi-diocese, able in some cases to leapfrog local archbishops and deal directly with Rome. Almost simultaneously the Pope publicly constricted the competing, more liberal lesuit order. A perception that Opus' ecclesiastical power knew no limits peaked with Escrivá's 1992 beatification, a brief (for those days) 17 years after his death. Faultfinders, notes Allen, claimed that the judging panel had been packed and Escrivá's critics blackballed: they viewed his fast move toward sainthood as the muscleflexing "ecclesiastical equivalent of the Roman emperor) Caligula making his horse a senator." Allen sees the beatification as legitimate, as did 300,000 people who thronged Rome for Escrivá's 2002 canonization.

#### WHO ARE THESE PEOPLE?

OPUS DEI IS NOT A KIND OF SPIRITUAL PICKme-up for casual Catholics. It features a small,
committed membership (85,500 worldwide
and a mere 3,000 in the U.S.), many of whom
come from pious families and are prepared to
embrace unpopular church teachings such
as its birth-control ban. Members take part
in a rigorous course of spiritual "formation"
stressing church doctrine and contemplation
plus Escrivás philosophy of work and personal holiness. Opus core is its "numeraries,"
the 20% who, despite remaining lay, pledge
the 20% who, despite remaining lay, pledge

## **Finding Sanctity in All Tasks**

Ithough he shares the same first name and is also associated with Opus Dei, Silas Agbim couldn't be more different from the fanatical albino monk who goes on an international murder spree in the book The Da Vincl Code. Agbim is a slight, unassuming Nigerian immigrant in his 60s who lives quietly in Brooklyn, N.Y., with his wife Ngozi. But as the release of The Da Vinci Code film version approaches, the Agbims, who have been supernumerariesmembers of Opus Dei who live outside its residences-for almost 30 years, have been speaking out about their experiences in the organization. Silas (the real one) says he doesn't mind his unusually earned public profile: "I am pleased with the publicity in a way. It helps counter some of the impressions that the author of The Da Vinci Code. Dan Brown. was trying to portray about Opus Dei, the church and Christianity in general."

A friend told the couple about the group while they were on vacation in the lvory Coast in the mid-1970s. Intrigued, they decided to check it out when they

returned to New York and, finding It to be a "connection between the theory and the practice" of their Catholic faith, joined a few years later. A stockbroker, Silsa says the organization has helped him find a way to bring his faith into his profressional life. Every workaday task becomes an opportually to impress 6od. "Nou don't just but y [a stock] because it's on the buying list," he says, "You have to be sure that this is someplace you would put your [own] money. Your conscience is being touched."

Nigoz, a retired college professor also, in her 60s, applies the same approach to the charitable works she says her affiliation with Opas De has inspired her to table on. Recently she initiated a book-collection project for a library in higeria. We're not sending trashy things, "she explains. "We got 1,500 solid books." The Agbims say this yee of focus has helped bring them closer to 6od. "You are not a mont," says Silias. It is in the workjabece that God expects you to show him your skills, to do your bit and serve him." — By Carolina A. Mikmada.

Reported by Sean Scully

celibacy, live together in one of about 1,700 seex-segregated "centers" and extend their training to a degree rivaling a priest's—all while holding day jobs, with most of their pay devolving to the group. That near cloistered life produces the group's most avid, satisfied members and its bitterest dropouts. Opus steers a small number of members toward the priesthood, and they exert considerable influence on the law majority.

Some 70% of the membership, called supermumeraries, are much more of this world. They bend Opus' daily two hours of religious observance around a more typical—or perhaps retro, given the large size of many of their families—existence. Opus' sureties provide a spiritual grounding to life's everyday chaos and ambiguities. While she was raising seven children in the anything-goes 1970s, says Cathy Hickey of Larchmont. N.Y., Osus

## The Evolution of a Religious Force

#### 1902

José Maria Escrivá is born to a middle-class family in the Spanish region of Aragon; he later changes his name to Josemaria Escriva de Balaguer.

#### 1928

Escrivá, now a priest living in Madrid, has a vision in which "the Lord willed that Opus Dei might come to be" and founds the organization to help laypeople find sanctity in ordinary work and life.

## 1939

Escrivá publishes The Way, a book of 999 spiritual maxims.



#### 1949

Opus Dei arrives in the U.S.; the organization also establishes operations in Mexico—its first in Latin America.

#### 1962

Vatican II opens, sharing Escrivá's emphasis on lay activism but not his conservatism.

#### 1975

Escrivá dies; Alvaro del Portillo, a close associate, is elected his successor,







gave her "an underlying stream of peace and joy." Members bring a pious concentration to jobs that might otherwise be done less ethically or carefully. Heil, the Columbia student, says Opus "helps your whole life melt into this 24/7 conversation with God."

#### **HOW SECRETIVE IS OPUS?**

FOR ALL ITS UNIQUENESS IN MISSION AND structure. Opus Dei is best known for being secretive. It has a special set of greetings: "Pax" and "In aeternum" ("Peace" and "In eternity"). Its 1950 constitution barred members from revealing their membership without permission from the director of their center. In 1982 a new document repudiated "secrecy or clandestine activity," and Bohlin, the U.S. vicar, claims that the continuing impression is a misunderstanding based again on decentralization, "People

[get Opus training] and go back to where they were," he says. "So we never march in a parade as a group because we don't form a group. And when people don't see us marching, they say, "They must be secret."

Yet Opus will still not identify its members, and many prefer not to identify themselves. In England, in late 2004, the Labour government's Education Secretary. Ruth Kelly, went months before confirming she had received "spiritual support" from Opus. (Her exact status remains unclear.) Nor, as Allen shows in his book, will Opus formally own up to many of its institutions. Its U.S. schools tend to go by bland names like the Heights or Northridge Prep. For years, he reports, the 17-story U.S. headquarters in New York, finished in 2001, lacked an identifving street-level sign. Allen counts 15 universities, seven hospitals, 11 business schools and 36 primary and secondary schools around the world as what Opus calls "corporate works," as opposed to personal deeds. It is justly proud of 97 vocational-technical schools worldwide, which deflate the myth that Opus serves only the rich. But very few of the schools and hospitals are legally owned by Opus, which admits only to providing "doctrinal and spiritual formation." It financial expert, Joseph Harris, that they determined that at least in the U.S., Opus proper enjoys a minimum of "dual control" over them by placing members on their boards.

#### **HOW RICH IS IT?**

THE NORMAL ASSUMPTION ABOUT SUCH indirectness would be that the group is

#### 1982

Pope John Paul II gives Opus Dei the status of personal prelature.

### 1994

Del Portillo dies and is

varria, the current Opus Dei head.

### 2001

FBI agent Hanssen is arrested for selling secrets to Moscow.



tiny introduces many outsiders to Opus Dei when it was a supernumerary member and had confessed his misdeeds to an Opus Dei priest.

#### 2002

Pope John Paul II. above, canonizes Escrivá just 26 years after his death, describing him as "the saint of ordinary life."

#### 2003



Vinci Code. a thriller by Dan Brown featuring a villain who

is a member of Opus Dei, is published.

The scheduled month Directed by Ron Howard, it stars Tom Tautou, with Paul Bettany, right, as the



#### DENNIS DUBRO

### **Disenchanted by Blind Obedience**

ennis Dubro strives to bring the principles of his spiritual beliefs to his job as an engineer in the nuclear division of a utility company in Fremont, Calif. He begins and ends each day with quiet prayer. Both are practices he developed in his 17 years as a member of Opus Dei. But Dubro, now 55.

left the organization almost 20 years ago, disillusioned by the rigid obedience it demanded of its members.

After growing close to the organization while he was a student at M.I.T., he took the major step of becoming a numerary—a member who lives in an Opus Dei center—in 1974. That year Opus dispatched him to Sydney, Australia, to help run the finances

at a men's dormitory. What he saw when he arrived there shocked him. "The accounts were in complete chaos," he recalls. "We didn't know how much was in the bank. There was money missing. Some account balances were off by hundreds of percents."

He took the problem to his spiritual director, who was also his boss, and was

told not to worry. But as accounting irregularities kept surfacing, Dubro continued to raise the issue with the director and eventually took the matter up with one of the visiting inspectors who oversee local Opus operations, "I sat with him for an hour," says Dubro. "He said, 'These things don't happen in

Opus Dei. Then he asked how my spiritual life was going." (A spokesman for Opus Dei says he is not familiar with the details of this case but that "nobody was trying to cheat anyone.")

Dubro eventually grew frustrated with the assumption that questioning the organization was the same as questioning God's will and that leaving Opus would

result in eternal damnation. He says he felt constantly pressured to recruit new members. He legan to speak openly about his grievances and within a couple of years was asked to move out of the center. He left the group in 1997. "There is no ability to complain," he says. "It's absolute control, absolute obedience."—"#P carolina. All randa

hiding something, and filthy lucre is a staple of the Opus myth. Two rumors about its popularity with John Paul were that it funded the Solidarity trade union and helped bail out the Vatican bank after its 1982 scandal. Poverty is demonstrably not one of Opus' vows. It has a reputation for cultivating the rich or those soon to be, at both élite colleges and its own institutions. (In Latin America many in the church feel that Opus priests served once ascendant oligarchs over the masses.) Even in the inner city, Opus is unabashedly less interested in identifying with the poor than turning them into the middle class. Bohlin jokingly distinguishes his members from "some Franciscans with holes in their shoes, driving a crummy car because of their sense of the spirit of poverty.

On the basis of their study of IRS filings, Allen and Harris found \$344.4 million in Opus assets in the U.S. and roughly estimate a global total of \$2.8 billion. If correct, that sum approximates Duke University's endowment, yet is hardly Vatican bailout money. But those figures are only part of the picture. Opus members and its sympathizers, known as "cooperators," can be very generous, and their funds hard to track. Allen's research suggests that a most likely unexpected \$60 million gift (a hefty portion of its total U.S. assets) financed much of the Manhattan building. Longlea, the group's Washington-area mansion, was donated by a couple who had just bought it for \$7.4 million. Father Michael Barrett, an Opus Dei priest who pastors a chapel in Houston, recently raised \$4.3 million for a new building and says, "I can assure you that cooperators and supernumeraries have given at the \$100,000 level." That largesse, credited officially to the Galveston-Houston archdiocese, would not show up even on Allen's scrupulous balance sheet. Nor would similar Opus-generated funds.

#### HOW MUCH POWER DOES IT HAVE?

SOME HAVE SALD THAT OPUS "THUE SECRET IS its clout in international politics. Poland's new conservative regime includes an Opus minister and several Opus officials, according to one of the group's Warsaw directors; membership there is rumored to be a political stepping-stone. In Peru, Juan Luis Cardinal Cipriani, the church's first openly Opus Dei Cardinal, was seen as having sanctioned antiterrorist excesses by the regime of former President Alberto Fujimori; he scoffed at the accusations, writing that most human-rights groups were "fronts for Marxist and Maoist political movements."

For years, Catholics in Washington have kept informal count of possible high-profile Opus people, including Justice Antonin Scalia and almost-Justice Robert Bork, Senators Rick Santorum and Sam Brownback columnist Robert Novak and former FBI head Louis Freeh. The tally was not totally arbitrary: Freeh's child went to an Opus Dei school, and his brother was a numerary for a while: Scalia's wife has attended Opus events, and the Justice is close to an Opus priest; and Brownback, Bork and Novak converted to Catholicism under one's wing. Several have denied the rumors ("I can't stress enough that he is not a member," says Santorum's communications chief). But a bonus of Opus' new candor campaign is that it now states freely that not one of the powerful Washingtonians belongs.

The more complicated question is what influence Opus Dei exerts on nonmembers. Says Bohlin: "We generally avoid talking about anything political, so as not to come down on one side or the other." Then he pauses. "But when you're talking about abortion, that's not a political issue. That's a Catholic issue," he says. "There are certain issues that we take a clear stand with the church on, and many of them are hot-button issues." Of course, you don't have to be Opus to oppose abortion, euthanasia or gay marriage. But the prelature, with an office on the capital's lobbyist-laden K Street, can act as a kind of validator to a broader spectrum of traditionalists, Scott Appleby, a Catholic history expert at Notre Dame, estimates that through programs for nonmembers and the articulate piety of its members, Opus Dei informs "about a million conservative Catholics." That's just 1.5% of the 67 million Catholies nationally, but it's a trove of motivated voters a politician can love, and may explain why Santorum has spoken at Opus events, in one case quoting Escrivá: "'Have

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to leave one's Catholicism aside on entering a professional association [or] Congress, as if you were checking your hat at the door?"

#### DO MEMBERS REALLY WHIP THEMSELVES?

THE MAN DOING PENANCE ADVISED HIS ASsociate to cover his head with a blanket: but the observer could not stop his ears. "Soon," said the witness, "I began to hear the forceful blows of his discipline ... there were more than a thousand terrible blows, precisely timed. The floor was covered in blood." That is not an early Da Vinci Code draft. It is a description of Opus Dei founder Escrivá's routine by his eventual successor, quoted in a biogra-

phy of Escrivá. Escrivá emphasized that others should not emulate his ferocity. But numeraries are expected, although not compelled, to wear a cilice, a small chain with inward-pointing spikes, around the upper thigh for two hours each day, and to flail themselves briefly weekly, with a small rope whip called a discipline.

With rare exceptions, even angry defectors don't cite selfmortification, as it's known, as their deal killer. Lucy, a former numerary assistant (see box, following page), told TIME it was "nothing. It's not like The Da Vinci Code." Catholic laity and luminaries, including Mother Teresa, have used it to identify with Christ's-and the world'sagony. San Antonio Archbishop losé Gomez, an Opus member, notes self-mortification's tie to Opus' roots: "In the Hispanic cul-

ture." he says, "you look at the crucifixes, and they have a lot of blood. We are more used to sacrifice in the sense of physical suffering."

### WHAT ABOUT RUMORS OF MIND CONTROL?

SELF-MORTIFICATION RESONATES WITH CRITics because, as Allen points out, it provides a metaphor for what they see as an "inhumane approach within Opus Dei, which demands a kind of dominance over its members, body and soul." Unnerving stories have been passed by ex-numeraries to journalists or posted to the anti-Opus website odan.org. Many involve charges of deceptive recruiting, with prospective members unaware that the events they are invited to

## **Living Out Her Faith Every Day**

rowing up in a family of religious nomads who migrated from church to church, Heather Cuthrell says she yearned for a deeper connection to religion from the time she was 10 and converted to Catholicism when she was 16. "It was because of the tradition and the history and the idea that it was the only [faith] we could follow back all the way to the Apostles," she says.

While attending college in Houston. she met her future husband Jim Cuthrell



are Opus', of numeraries' realizing only belatedly that Opus expects them to sign away their paycheck and curtail relations with their families. The music they play and the publications they read are allegedly controlled, and they must report their own and others' deviations as part of a system of "fraternal correction." Center directors are portrayed as little dictators. Complaining to local bishops is futile because of Opus' semiindependent status. The critics claim that when the numeraries try to leave. they are threatened with damnation. Experts who have helped extract the disaffected have likened center life to a cult. And Martin, the America editor, contends that he gets "dozens" of calls yearly from parents saying the group has estranged at a local parish. He often participated in Opus Dei events, and it was through him that Heather became familiar with the organization. Its central tenet that people should find sanctity in their everyday lives resonated with her. "I grew up my whole life where you do whatever you want during the week, and then on Sunday you're a Christian." she explains. "A lot of people don't live their faith every day. But with Opus Dei, you don't compartmentalize. You try to live your virtues." In the early 1990s, Heather and Jim joined as supernumeraries, members who live in their homes rather than in Opus Dei residences.

Some family members were worried that the couple was getting involved with a cult. But Heather says they were reassured after reading pamphlets on the organization's practices. "People form these negative opinions because they don't have the right information," she says. Now married for 15 years and living in Long Beach, Calif., with Jim and their two daughters, Heather, 39, says she appreciates the structure that Opus Dei gives her life. She sees setting aside at least an hour a day for prayer as a blessing, not a burden. "I have much more calm because I know God has a hand in whatever happens," she says. "I am not as uptight about things," The result, she feels, is that Opus Dei has helped her be a better mother and wife. - By Carolina A. Miranda. Reported by Sean Scully

or brainwashed their numerary children.

Opus responds that those who leave are a small minority, and Allen describes the mood around the many centers he visited as cheerful. Bohlin dismisses charges that prospective members are unaware of what to expect, pointing out that all go through an 18-month preparatory process. He says that in a group as loosely knit as he claims Opus to be, "you can't keep all the people happy all the time; you can't keep people from making mistakes." And he says the organization has mellowed. "I was running a center as a 25vear-old." Bohlin, now 51, notes, "At this point, we hopefully have more mature people. A green organization is different from one with more experience." To those who have been hurt, he says, "the only thing we can do is try to apologize and hope people understand, and you move on with your life."

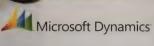


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## **Broken by the Demands**

hat began as a parttime kitchen job at an Opus Dei retreat in Pembroke, Mass... became a 20-year career for a woman we'll call Lucy. (She recently left the group and asks that her real name not be used.) Just 16 at the time she started working there, Lucy not only liked her co-workers but appreciated their spirituality as well. After graduating from high school in 1985, she attended Lexington College in Chicago, an Opus Dei-affiliated school for women interested in hospitality professions. That fall, without telling her parents. she joined the organization as a numerary assistant.

The assistants are the fe-

male domestic crews that serve meals, do laundry and clean at Opus Dei facilities. "It's like working at a hotel," says Lucy, except that the job requires daily prayer, daily penance and life-long ceilbacy. The work meant 12-hour days, six or seven days a week at Opus Dei centrers from San Francisco to Boston, and

Lucy says her minimum-wage salary was turned over to the organization. She found the stringent regulation of her life incredibly grueling. "You had to ask permission to do everything." she recalls. "If you wanted to go out with a friend, watch TV or listen to the radio. I got so fed up."

Her time with her tight-knit family was heavily restricted. When visiting relatives, she had to stay at the local Opus Dei center instead of at home. In 2000 Lucy was told she could not attend her sister's wedding because the ceremony would not be Catholic. "My sister didn't talk to me for two years," Lury says. It took five more years, however, before she decided to leave Opus Dei laid April. (The group's U.S. vicar has said such dissatisfaction and complaints, while unfortunate, are unavoidable in large organizations. "but can't keep (directors) from making mistakes.")

Now 39, Lucy lives with an old friend in Afriansas and has happily renewed relations with her family. She reveils in simple things—like watching Star Wars—without having to ask permission. But her new life has been difficult. She has no savings and no real resumed. She works as a receptionist, earnings works as a receptionist, earning to the control of the control





WHAT IS ITS FUTURE?
PRIOR TO LAST YEAR'S PAPAL ELEC-

tion, rumor held that Opus riight end up brokering the conclave, but it turned out Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger did not need a broker. And the new Pope may be less concerned with aiding Opus than with strengthening the church's hierarchy. None-

theless, Opus' second in command, Fernando Ocáriz, worked closely with Ratzinger on one of his last great conservative gestures as head of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith: Dominus Jesus, a reassertion of the primacy of Catholicism over other religions. Other members are "consultors" to that key office, and Opus' canon lawyers saturate Rome. Asserts John Navone, a Jesuit theologian at Gregorian University: "They're in the forefront of the Vatican."

Opus' future in the U.S. is more complicated. Recently, or the lift floor of the New York headquarters, 40 men did a guided contemplation. Two-thirds were visitors, some 'meeting the Work' for the first time. While they sat, eyes closed, an Opus member intoned questions for them to ponder. "Do I realize that Christian life means finding and following Christ closely, no matter what the cost?" he asked: "Am I waging a generous inner struggle?" "Do I find in my work many opportunities for small sacrifices?" "Do I restrain my currosity?"

That last one is a particularly telling query. Restraint of curiosity is not a virtue much trumpeted in the West today. That may help explain both why Opus' membership levels appear to have remained static in the U.S. over the past few decades and, perhaps, why it has attracted so much negative energy. "I don't believe Opus Dei is either a [cult] or a mafia or a cabal," a senior prelate of another religious community in Rome told TIME. It is just that "their approach is preconciliar. They originated prior to the Second Vatican Council, and they don't want to dialogue with society as they find it." That would not describe the majority of selfidentifying American Catholics, who are distinctly postconciliar, with more than 75% opposing the birth-control ban. Their sympathy for Opus Dei might be limited. Some might even feel hostile toward it: church liberals, once riding high, have understood for decades that Rome does not incline their way. They feel abandoned, says Allen, "and whenever you feel that way, there's a natural desire to find someone to blame'

If that is the case—if much of the negative feeling regarding Opus at this point is displaced anger over the direction of the church—then The Da Vinci Code may be the best fate that could befall it. The movie will not deter Opus' usual constituency—conservative Catholics do not look to Ron Howard for suid-

ance. But by forcing Opus into greater transparency, the film could aid it: if the organization is as harmless and "mature" as Bohlin contends, then such exposure could bring in a bumper crop of devotees—with perhaps even more to come if, as seems likely, American Catholicism becomes both more Hispanic and more conservative.

That is the kind of outcome Iulian Cardinal Herranz, Opus' ranking Vatican official. expects. Long ago, he says, when he was editing a university newspaper, someone submitted a story claiming that Opus Dei was part of a worldwide conspiracy. Fascinated, Herranz began talking to Opus members, eventually becoming one himself. "That article I read was fiction," he says. "And now I'm here. I became a priest, I came to Rome, I became a bishop, and now a Cardinal. All because I read a fictional story about Opus Dei." - With reporting by Sean Scully and Carolina A. Miranda/New York, Jordan Bonfante and Jeff Israely/Vatican City, Amanda Bower/San Francisco, Lucien Chauvin/Lima, Mark Thompson/ Washington and Dolly Mascarehas/Mexico City

SMITH FOR TIME

# HOW TO GET FAMOUS IN SECONDS

All you need is a camera, a computer and enough nerve to step into the almost-anything-goes world of viral videos





teur video of the event in which you can see him mumble his name into the microphone and then do his thing for about 60 sec. The audience goes insane. Those watching can't believe what's happening, Bernal, who performs under the name David Elsewhere, describes his dance style as a mixture of "popping, waving, liquiding, breaking, roboting." What this means in practice is that,

first, his body physically melts into a little

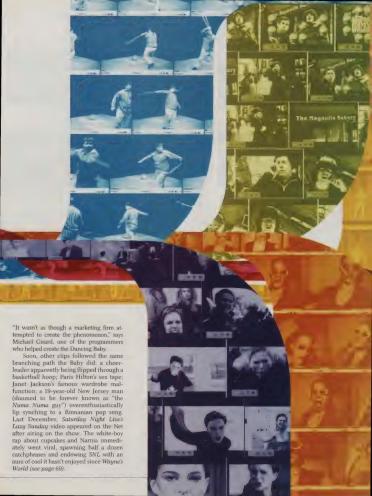
to perform at a Korean-American talent

show in Los Angeles. There's a grainy ama-

verted the grainy video from that night into a digital file and posted it on the Web. One by one, then hundreds by hundreds, people started downloading the video, e-mailing it, linking to it, sharing it, copying it and reuploading it. In other words, the little video went viral-it multiplied and reproduced and spread out of control on the Internet like a virus. And millions of people caught it.

Bernal is famous now, in a way, but it's a new kind of fame, courtesy of a new medium. Viral videos are only a few minutes or even a few seconds long, and they're generally amateur in execution and wildly eclectic in subject matter. Browse one of the websites that hosts them, like YouTube or Google Video, and you'll see drunken karaoke, babies being born, plane crashes, burping contests, freakish sports accidents and far, far stranger things. The one thing they have in common is that people can't stop watching them.

The viral video probably began with the infamous Dancing Baby, which surfaced in 1996. A strangely compelling animation of a diapered infant getting its tiny groove on, the Dancing Baby was born as a software demo, but people started sending it to one another as an e-mail attachment. Until the Baby came along, nobody realized that that kind of spontaneous In box-to-In box sharing, following the and-they'll-tell-twofriends model, could ever add up to much. let alone scale to the level of a mass medium.



#### VIRAL VIDEOS What makes a clip catch on? The right mix of athleticism, stupidity and, of course, lip synching. Find these at sites like YouTube.com and Google Video, or go to time.com synching. Find these at sites like YouTube.com and Google Video, or go to time.com for links



1. STAR WARS KID Come on, 2. NUMA NUMA This guy we've all played light saber. He really enjoys dancing to just happened to get caught



Romanian pop. Who doesn't?



3. DAVID ELSEWHERE A boneless break-dancer busts impossible moves



4. RONALDINHO It's an ad. but the Brazilian soccer god makes it a really good one



5. LAZY SUNDAY SNL'S Samberg and Parnell bust rhymes about Namia



6. JON VS. TUCKER The Daily Show host calls Carlson a "partisan hack" and worse



7. BROKEBACK TO THE FUTURE The 1980s classic as you've never seen it before



8. BASKETGIRL! A very skinny cheerleader scores two points the hard way



9. NINJA GUY He's an allkicking, all-flipping, all-leaping martial-arts machine



10. BEST CHRISTMAS LIGHTS EVER Forget about keeping up with this neighbor

But most viral videos come from amateurs, brilliant or lucky camcorder auteurs who just put their work on the Net and watch it take off. Traffic to viral-video sites is surging, driven by ubiquitous broadband Internet access and cheap, easy-to-use digital video cameras. Since last year, visits to Yahoo!'s Video section have gone up 148%. Traffic to iFilm.com grew 102%. YouTube, launched in December, is storming the Web. It already had 9 million unique visitors in February, compared with Google Video's 6.2 million and Yahoo!'s 3.8 million. YouTube's traffic grew another 24% just last month, and the site shows more than 40 million videos a day. Visitors to YouTube spend an average of 15 minutes there per sessionthat's an eternity in the quick-clicking world of the Web. Seriously. Don't go to You Tube if you don't have some time to kill, because whatever time you have, YouTube will kill it.

Viral videos are powerful, but that power can be a little scary. Once something goes viral, there's no way to get the genie back in the bottle, and some things go viral that shouldn't. One notorious surveillance video, still at large online, shows a suspect in a San Bernardino County, Calif., police station shooting himself in the head with a pistol. Another video shows a chubby kid waving a golf-ball retriever like a light saber. The kid. Chyslain Raza, was 15 at the time. Three of his classmates found the footage and put it online, and it became an instant Internet classic. Soon strangers started making fun of Raza on the street. The San Francisco Giants

put the video on their lumbotron, Raza, now 18, became known as the Star Wars Kid. He also became depressed and dropped out of school. Eventually he sued the classmates who had found the video. Two weeks ago, they settled for an undisclosed sum.

ORPORATIONS ARE RUNNING INTO similar problems. They want to ride the viral train for the free publicity, but it doesn't always go where they want it to. In March Chevrolet organized an online make-vour-owncommercial campaign for its Tahoe suv. Green-minded humorists hijacked the campaign, creating widely circulated Tahoe ads with slogans like, "Nature? It'll grow back. Drive a car that costs the earth." Last year. Lee Ford and Dan Brooks, a Londonbased creative ad development team, came up with an "edgy" Volkswagen spot for a demo reel: a terrorist tries to detonate a car bomb outside a crowded café. But the car, a VW Polo, is too sturdy-it contains the blast, killing the terrorist but saving the café. Shot on a shoestring budget, the clip is shocking, tasteless, stunningly effective-and totally unauthorized. When it leaked onto the Net (it had been hidden on Ford and Brooks' website), they were pretty stunned too. "We went to sleep, and then America got it," says Ford, 33. "I woke in the morning and looked at our website. The hit rate was through the roof." The duo had to apologize to Volkswagen.

Not every video goes viral. The vast majority go nowhere-YouTube hosts millions of hours of drunken parties, tearful confessions, smiling babies, sleeping cats and screen grabs from World of Warcraft, all doomed to obscurity. Nike showed a firm grasp of the form with a popular clip, an ad stealthily designed to look like amateur footage, showing soccer deity Ronaldinho putting on a pair of sneakers and then, incredibly, nailing the crossbar with a soccer ball four times in a row. Some of the successes are accidental. For a while, one of the popular movies on Google Video was a 20-sec. clip of a kid falling off a jungle gym. Others are inexplicable: a 24-year-old Midwesterner known as Nornna has so far posted 755 movie clips to YouTube in which she laconically narrates the details of her daily life. The videos are almost excruciatingly prosaic, but they have a huge grassroots following, and they have made her one of the medium's homegrown celebrities.

Other viral videos show genuine comic smarts. One night in lanuary a couple of Emerson College students named Jonathan Ade and Patrick DiNicola had a brain wave and stayed up late re-editing footage from the Back to the Future trilogy to create Brokeback to the Future, the time-traveling love story of young Marty McFly (Michael I. Fox) and mad scientist Dr. Emmett Brown (Christopher Lloyd). Viral gold. "A friend of ours posted it onto YouTube," says Ade, 21. "After that point it got away from us." Brokeback to the Future has been viewed



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### **HOW FAR WOULD YOU GO FOR UNLIMITED WEALTH AND POWER?**



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more than 3 million times on YouTube alone and inspired dozens of knockoffs (including Lazy Brokeback, in which SNL's Andy Samberg, and Chris Parnell find each other to be "crazy delicious"). "Professionally I think this is going to help me out in the long run in terms of my film career," says Ade.

That's quite possible. There's a purity to viral videos that can't be replicated in other media, if you can use purity to refer to a medium that is at least 5% fart jokes. Nothing can force a clip to go viral. It requires an authentic response from a mass

audience, and the mainstream is learning to respect that. Soon after their unsanctioned VW spot hit the Net, viral admen Ford and Brooks were hired for a series of spoof political spots for Britain's Channel 4, and they've gone on to work McDonald's and the Sci Fi Channel Europe, among others. Says Brooks: "It put us on the map."

And what about David Bernal, a.k.a. David Elsewhere? He's living the viral dream. Since that night in 2001, he has danced in commercials for 7-Eleven.

Heineken, Pepsi and Apple's iPod. He has shown his stuff on [aq Leno, [immy kimme] and Steve Harvey. He did a Volkswagen ad that consists entirely of his glorously funly reinterpretation of Gene Kelly's classic Singin in the Rain routine. He even did a cameo in You God Served. "The choreographer had seen [the video] and wanted me to be in the movie," Bernal says. "That's usually how it works. I don't have to audition. And even if I do, they just want to see if I can still do what I used to do." —Reported by Johnny Dwert/New York and Laura A. Lockles Im Metaes.

CROSSOVER ARTIST

# Straight Outta Narnia

By JOEL STEIN

f you don't ask your boss, he can't say no. And when you're new and young and your ideas are kind of weird, yes is a hard answer to get. So Andy Samberg, the new guy at the highly competitive Saturday Night Live ideas meetings, borrowed a friend's wife's camera, made a short film and never told producer Lome Michaels what he was doing until he handed him the tape in December. "That had never been done before," says cast member Will Forte, who starred in the segment, in which he and Samberg had a serious conversation while eating heads of lettuce, "Andy just didn't know the rules. So he made up his own."

Samberg, 27, hit it big on his third self-made video, Lazy Sunday, a rap with Chris Parnell which boasted, gangster-style. of the wimpiest activities imaginable: buying a baker's dozen of cupcakes, seeing The Chronicles of Namia, using Google maps, yelling out movie-trivia answers at the screen and spending \$10 bills: "Roll up in the theater. Ticket buying's what we handle. You can call us Aaron Burrs from the way we're dropping Hamiltons." The video, thanks to the Internet, became an instant classic. Within weeks there were

MAKING SNL HIP AGAIN Samberg went from the Internet to TV and back again Bakers Dozen T shirts and rap video responses from people in Los Angeles, Britain and Muncie, Ind., all of whom apparently also knew people whose wives have video cameras.

The comedian is the first of the Internet auteurs to cross into the mainstream, Lazy Sunday is similar to the hiphop-drenched absurdist stuff he and his two friends since iunior high school-Jorma Taccone and Akiva Schafferhad been posting for years on thelonelyisland.com. They are the kind of guys who spend very little time debating whether an idea for a sketchor anything-is worth pursuing. "That's been our attitude from the start, inspired by Akiva," says Samberg. "He's a can-do kind of dude. He says what separates people is that some

people talk about doing stuff and some people do it."

The sketch group that had never performed sketches anywhere became famous in Los Angeles comedy circles (the three of them lived there until they were hired by SNL and moved to New York City) for eight 3-min. episodes of The 'Bu, a parody of The O.C. in which a troubled ninia kid moves into Malibu. The 'Bu was shown on channel 101, com, an outlet for unemployed comedy writers and actors. Samberg and his friends actually already had an agent, a pilot deal at Fox for a sketch show (the failed Awesometown) and a job writing for the MTV Movie Awards, Still, they kept going out onto the streets with their cameras on unpaid projects, such as filming a fake mugging, one of which Kiefer Sutherland saw and tried to break up.

They got their SNL jobs after working with Jimmy Fallon on last year's MTV Movie Awards. He brought them to Michaels, who hired Samberg as a cast member and the other two as writers. Their humor, like a lot of those involved in channel 101.com, is playful, loose and not overthought. For his SNL audition, Samberg did an impression of an '80s jogger, which mainly consisted of wearing short shorts and breathing heavily while talking about the recession. "His comedy doesn't come from a place of anger," says Michaels. "He's got a kind of sweetness to him."

That likability, as much as the Lazy Sunday video, has made him a sudden celebrity. His name has been in the tabloids, mostly for his going on dates with firsten Dunst. And he has a part in a Paramount movie to be shot this summer about a guy who tries to reproduce Evel Knievel's jump over Snake River Canyon on a moped.

His SNL films have continued to bounce quickly around the Web, particularly a violent gangster rap video starring Natalie Portman, He. like South Park, has given mainstream exposure to a young, punky, referencepacked, comic book-influenced humor that has been better represented on the Web than on TV. And as with most punky projects, Samberg thinks he's getting away with it more than he is. SNL used to have contributors, such as Albert Brooks, who would submit finished videos. "They take the risk," says Michaels of the Lonely Island submissions. "For us, if it doesn't play well, it just goes away." Samberg's trick is that he thinks about things that way too.



# **Thirteen Ways to Be 13**

With his remarkable fourth book, David Mitchell shows why he is Britain's brightest young novelist

By PICO IYER



"BLIND BOARS OF WIND crashed through the nervy woods," reports Jason Taylor, frightened schoolboy, as he heads toward the darker reaches of the trees. and of his imagination, in

town in 1982. "Listening's reading," he notes elsewhere, "if you close your eyes." The sounds and tastes, the trembling feelings of his world course through the wide-awake boy like channeled spirits. Yet what makes the pungent spray of syllables heartrending is the fact that Jason is a stammerer and has to avoid certain letters even when reading aloud in class.

In Black Swan Green (Random House: 294 pages), the most prodigiously daring and imaginative young writer in Britain brings his formidable gifts very close to home. In his first novel, Ghostwritten, in 1999, David Mitchell, now 37, invented the planetary novel, in a way, by setting nine stories in eight countries and describing a single spirit that ran through them all like a fuse. In his third novel, 2004's Cloud Atlas. he turned the postmodern book inside out by setting pieces in six different ages and voices, then doubling back (a little too fancily perhaps) to explore the idea of "eternal recurrence." In his new, most deeply personal work, Mitchell does something even more remarkable: he makes the well-worn coming-of-age novel

feel vivid and uncomfortable and new. The revolution here is not of form, but of content and sensibility.

Black Swan Green tells the story of 13year old Jason in 13 chapters, one for every month of 1982 (plus one for January 1983), and describes an archetypal striver, rendered lonely and vulnerable by his sensitivity and terrified of bullies, girls and his inability to say words beginning with a and n. His family is coming apart, he somehow senses, as is the country around him (it's the year of the Falklands War and Maggie Thatcher's unexpected revolution). One part of him leans toward knowingness, but the rest is mired in a child's supercharged universe of witches and spirits and "Chosts".

of Might Be" in the woods. He is reading

Watership Down while dreaming of Debbie Harry's "full-cream lips."

One of the passing wonders of Mitchell's memoir-like time capsule is the photographic fidelity with which it captures Britain at a turning point. Here are the Asteroids games, the Connors-McEnroe matches on TV, the Jean Michel Jarre LPs and screenings of Chariots of Fire. Teenagers canoodle to Three Times a Lady and weep over Kramer vs. Kramer. Yet those familiar details are lit up with a sense of magic that makes Middle England seem more wondrous than Middle-earth. "Birdsong's the thoughts of a wood. Beautiful, it was, but boys aren't allowed to say 'beautiful' cause it's the savest word coinc."

Black Suan Green proceeds (more in through the seasons of the year, and then, exactly at the midpoint of the novel, Jason stumbles upon an exotic old lady-a Belgian Miss. Havisham—who throws open the doors on an alien world of poetry and music and Continental panache (everything forbidden to an English bow). Madame

Crommelynck also starts to comment on what we have been reading, asserting that "Beautiful words ruin your poetry" and "A poet throws all but truth in the cellar. Suddenly, as in the works of Thomas Pynchon and Herman Metville, one feels the roof of the narrative lifted off and oneself in thrall to a boy possessed.

The novel thus matures into, among a hundred other things, a

### 44THE EARTH'S A DOOR, IF YOU PRESS YOUR EAR AGAINST IT.77

FROM MITCHELL'S Black Swan Green

moving and eloquent portrait of the artist as a young man. Writing is the way Jason can communicate without a stammer, have his own say and get back at the world. Writing is how he can make time disappear and his tormenting classmates shrink into playthings. Writing becomes, in effect, an imaginative sanctuary and escape.

With Cloud Allas Mitchell won a slew of prizes, sold more than 400,000 copies and established himself in many minds as the most accomplished cult novelist of the centry so far. Black Susan Green goes one step further by showing that he's as vital—as shouting and original and central—a voice as the contemporary novel has to offer. He's shown us dazzling power before; here he wins us with vulnerability.



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## The Undressed Christian

A genial movie chronicles the life of Bettie Page, the church lady who liked to pose for dirty photos

HE TEST OF A GOOD MIND. IT IS SAID.

is the ability to hold two contradictory thoughts simultaneously. The
question raised by The Notorious Bettie Page is whether that apercu also applies
to hearts. For Page, who in real life gained
a dubious fame by posing for risibly risque
pictures back in the 1950s, is portrayed as
both a sweet-souled religious fundamentalist and a genial exhibitionist. She seems
to feel that the good Lord gave her an attractive body for the excellent reason that
it pleasured men to ogle it in various
states of undress.

Whether he really meant for it to be exhibited in black underwear and painfully high boots, or tied up in bondage poses, is a question that doesn't seem to bother Page, armored as she is in innocence and good nature. It is, though, a question that bothers others, including



Senator Estes Kefauver and his crime committee.

That's pretty much what Mary Harron's cook s) movie has for a conflict. And since Page, though under subpoena, never gets to tell her side of the story to Kefauver, not a lot comes of it. Mostly the film encourages us to giggle along with Page as she adopts more and more comically outrageous costumes and poses.

There are times when we wish for some firmer conclusion about the sources of Page's chipper amorality. On the other hand, Gretchen Mol is so game and adorable as Page, so at ease with her own nakedness—not to mention so blithe in her disregard for everyone else's prudishness—that by the end of the film we just take Page to heart.

Page is still alive, and there are many books of her photographs available in stores. They have become icons of America's secret life of a half-century ago. This cheeky movie does not impose heavy-duty meaning on Page's life and times. It just lets us draw our own ambiguous conclusions about what she did. It is the better, the more entiting, for so doing.—D# Richard Schieke!

NEITHER PRUDE NOR CRUDE: Mol gives Page a naiveté, even with black leather and a whip





#### DANIEL ISN'T TALKING MARTI LEIMBACH

MELANIE MARSH knows something is wrong with her son Daniel. He won't

let go of his Thomas the Tank Engine train. He walks on his toes and collects objects, especially anything disk shaped. And he isn't talking. When the diagnosis comes-Daniel is autistic-Melanie's very proper English husband Stephen walks out, leaving her to feel her way forward with only a mysterious child and an army of (mostly) unhelpful doctors to guide her. This is a tearful, joyful novel. and Leimbach (Duing Young) comes by tears and joy honestly: she has an autistic son.





A FISHSCALE GHOSTFACE KILLAH THE WU-TANG Clan's last

reliably great member hasn't exactly softened his material (fishscale is apparently slang for uncut cocaine), but then he hasn't lost his ability to tell a story either. In Ghostface's dexterous delivery, a line like "Workin' out, all I curl is my index finger" is less a boast about control than one more detail in a life of paranoia. The production puts equal value on melody and tension and even has room for nostalgia-9 Milli Bros, is a Wu-Tang reunion-but the truth is that E Ghostface is better on his own.



# OF OUR FAVORITE **PICKS**

It's hard to keep up with everything that's going on. That's why we're here



**▼** THE COMPLETE MR. ARKADIN ORSON WELLES "WILL YOU LET me tell it in my own way?"

begs the tough-guy narrator (Robert Arden) of this 1955 crime drama. Alas, neither he nor Welles-the film's star, writer and director-got his wish. Arkadin was taken from Welles, its convoluted form ironed out and the result renamed Confidential Report. At least superb Criterion DVD pack

seven versions of the film exist. none to his specifications. This offers three variations. including a new "complete" assembly. In any form, it's a rococo mix of Citizen Kane and The Third Man: a study of a rich man's power and isolation amid the seedy, greedy flotsam

of postwar Europe. In a way, this is a do-ityourself Kane. It's the viewer's job to sleuth for the real Arkadin-a film that is its own Rosebud

W BROMWELL HIGH

BBC AMERICA.

THURSDAYS, 11:30 P.M. E.T. SOUTH PARK MEETS ZADIE Smith's White Teeth in this offensive, riotous cartoon about a multicultural high



school in South London. The trio of main characters includes scheming, crude Keisha (imagine a black female Eric Cartman); Natella, the earnest South Asian class brain: and Latrina, the bigoted white working-class bombshell. Like many good satires, Bromwell is rooted in the idea that shallowness and venality transcend color and creed. The faculty ranges from an assortment of Anglo ignoramuses to Igbal, the greedy, sleazy Middle Eastern headmaster. And when the immigrant students discuss their favorite foods and cultural activities for a diversity-day assembly, they all choose KFC and text messaging. Bromwell is a rude cannonball splash into the 21st century melting pot.



#### A FESTEN DAVID ELDRIDGE

FAMILY GET-TOGETHERS ARE hardly rare on Broadway, but rarely are they so disorienting or ominous as this one is. It's not just the revelation about sexual abuse that son Christian lays on the guests at his father's 60th-birthday party but also the eerie nonreaction to it-the way the placid surface of programmed jollity barely ripples. That, along with the stark, almost abstract staging by director Rufus Norris, gives this London import (an adaptation of the Danish film The Celebration) the hollow, haunted feel of Samuel Beckett, not Arthur Miller. With a strong American cast (Julianna Margulies and Michael Hayden, above), it's the take-no-prisoners drama of the Broadway season.

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# **Health Brief**

HEALTH TIPS FOR BUSY PEOPLE

PRING 2006



IT'S THAT TIME OF YEAR AGAIN, WHEN BUDS, BLOSSOMS AND GRASSES UNITE TO WREAK HAVOC WITH OUR NOSES AND EYES. HERE'S HOW TO FIGHT BACK.

IN THE OLD DAYS, SOME THOUGHT THAT SNEEZING was a sign of bad things to come, say, a plague or an army of enemies. Now we know that the humble sneeze is more likely a sign of allergy season on the horizon—and that can be bad enough. In fact, for the 50 million Americans who suffer from allergies each year, spring can be downright miserable, bringing with it runny noses, itchy eyes, wheezy chests and a chorus of continuous sneezes. To add insult to injury, there is no

real cure for allergies. But don't despair. There are two surefire ways to deal with

allergies: taking medication to get symptomatic relief and avoiding the allergens that cause all the fuss.

Of course, before you can dodge your biggest sneeze products, you must first identify the little buggers. That requires a trip to your doctor for allergy tests on your skin. You'll react strongest to the most bothersome allergens, which often are dust mittes, pet dander, mold and pollen from plants and grasses. Once you know the culprits, you can get



#### Patient Information SINGULAIR\* (SING-u-lair) Tablets, Chewable Tablets, and Oral Granules Generic name: montelukast (mon-te-LOO-kast) sodium

Read this information before you start taking SINGULAIR\*. Also, read the leaflet you get each time In the leaflet since the last time you saw it. This leaflet does not take the place of talking with your doctor about your medical condition and/or your treatment

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· SINGULAIR is a medicine called a leukotriene receptor steroid. Blocking leukotrienes improves asthma and allergic rhinitis. (See the end of this leaflet for e information about asthma and allergic rhinitis.)

SINGULAIR is prescribed for the treatment of asthma nd allergic rhinitis:

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(See end of this leaflet for more information

#### Who should not take SINGULAIR?

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The active ingredient in SINGULAIR is montelukast sodium See the end of this leaflet for a list of all the ingredients

#### What should I tell my doctor before I start taking SINGULAIR?

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- · Medical Problems or Allergies: Talk about any
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#### How should I take SINGULAIR?

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- Take SINGULAIR once a day in the evening Take SINGULAIR every day for as long as your doctor prescribes it, even if you have no asthma
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- you for treating asthma attacks.

  Always have your inhaled rescue medicine for asthma attacks with you

  Do not stop taking or lower the dose of your other asthma medicines unless your doctor tells you to.
- If your doctor has prescribed a medicine for you to use before exercise, keep using that medicine

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   One 4-mg chewable tablet or one packet of 4-mg

   One 4-mg chewable tablet or one packet of age, or
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#### each day): • One 10-mg tablet for adults and adolescents

- . One 5-mg chewable tablet for children 6 to 14
- One 4-mg chewable tablet for children 2 to 5 years
- of age, or One packet of 4-mg oral granules for children
- What should I avoid while taking SINGULAIR?

#### If you have asthma and if your asthma is made worse

What are the possible side effects of SINGULAIR?

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- stomach or intestinal upset
- heartburn tiredness
- stuffy nose cough
- · upper respiratory infection

#### Less common side effects that have happened with

agitation including aggressive behavior, allergic reactions (including swelling of the face, lips, tongue, and/or throat, which may cause trouble breathing

Rarely, asthmatic patients taking SINGULAIR have were being slowly lowered or stopped. Although SINGULAIR has not been shown to cause this condition

you must tell your doctor right away if you get one or more of these symptoms:

• a feeling of pins and needles or numbness of

- severe inflammation (pain and swelling) of the

These are not all the possible side effects of SINGULAIR. For more information ask your doctor

Talk to your doctor if you think you have side effects from taking SINGULAIR.

#### General Information about the safe and effective use

Medicines are sometimes prescribed for conditions was not prescribed. Do not give SINGULAIR to other have. It may harm them. Keep SINGULAIR and all medicines out of the reach of children.

Store SINGULAIR at 25°C (77°F). Protect from moisture and light. Store in original package. This leaflet summarizes information about SINGULAIR.

#### What are the ingredients in SINGULAIR?

SINGULAIR chewable tablets contain aspertame, a source of phenylalanine. Phenylketonurics: SINGULAIR 4-mg and 5-mg chewable tablets contain 0.674 and 0.842 mg phenylalanine. respectively.

- 4-mg oral granules: mannitol, hydroxypropyl
- 10-mg tablet: microcrystalline cellulose

#### What is authma?

Asthma is a continuing (chronic) inflammation of the bronchial passageways which are the tubes that carry air from outside the body to the lungs. Symptoms of asthma include

#### What is allergic rhinitis?

- · Sessonal allergic rhinitis, also known as hay fever, is triggered by outdoor allergens such as pollens
- is triggered by outdoor altergens such as potients from trees, grasses, and weeds. Perennial altergic rhinitis may occur year-round and is generally triggered by indoor altergens such as dust mites, animal dander, and/or mold spores.

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Whitehouse Station, NJ 08889,

#### ALLERUME

to work trying to elude or eliminate them. For starters, fight dust and dander by vacuuming your rugs and carpets twice a week using a cleaner that has an allergy-fighting IFPA filter and by washing all bedding in hot water. Check the mold or pollen forecast and limit outside activities on high-level days. If you have to go out, consider wearing a paper mask. It's not uncommon to see people wearing protective masks while mowing their lawns. According to researchers at the Woodcock Institute of Medical Research in Australia, the inexpensive pollen filters that fit over the nose and mouth may not be stylish but they dramatically reduce airborne allergene exposure.

For those who still suffer after a good spring cleaning and while practicing avoidance strategies, an over-the-counter or prescription medicine might be an even easier solution. Many allergy symptoms can be eased with drugs, such as antihistamines. Or you may benefit from taking prescription drugs called antileukotrienes, which actually control the lungs' response to allergens and quell airway swelling. They've been shown to effectively prevent both allergy and asthma attacks. And that means a lot less sneezing.



The editorial content of *Health Briefs* prepared in accordance with the highest standards of journalistic accuracy. Readers are cautioned, however, not to use *Health Brief* information as a substitute for regular professional health care.

#### Resources

ORGANIZATIONS

National Institute of Allergy and Infectious

Diseases 6610 Rockledge Dr.

Bethesda, MD 20892-6612

301/496-5717; www.niaid.nih.gov Part of the National Institutes of Health, NIAID provides information on the latest allergy research. Check out its Web site for clinical trials and news briefs.

American Academy of Allergy, Asthma & Immunology (AAAAI) 555 East Wells St.

Milwaukee, WI 53202-3823

414/272-6071; www.aaaai.org
This professional medical organization for those
with a special interest in allergies provides informational newsletters, pamphlets and booklets
as well as a Web site jam-packed with up-to-date
allergy news.

WEB SITES

Asthma and Allergy Foundation of America www.aafa.org

Visit the "Shop Our Catalog" site to order a variety of helpful publications on allergies. Visitors can also pose a question to an allergist or test and improve their allergy awareness.

Allergy, Asthma & Immunology Online www.acaai.org

This American College of Allergy, Asthma & Immunology (ACAAI) site delivers information about indoor and outdoor allergens and answers to frequently asked questions. The "Allergist Locator" will help you find a qualified allergist in your area.

WebMD Allergies Health Center www.webmd.com/diseases\_and\_conditions/ allergies.htm

This site offers strategies for fighting allergy triggers, tips on medications and testing and information on allergy shots. Plus, for those wondering just how bad the pollen is in their town, there's an interactive pollen counter that provides local levels for grasses, weeds, trees and mold, along with an overall air-quality number.

MayoClinic.com Allergy Center www.mayoclinic.com/health/allergy

The experts at Mayo Clinic offer strategies to help you prevent allergy symptoms and to aid your understanding of allergy treatments. The site also offers interactive polls and an "Ask a Mayo Clinic Specialist" section.

BOOKS

What's in the Air?: The Complete Guide to Seasonal and Year-Round Airborne Allergies by Gillian Shepherd, Pocket Books, 2002, \$6.99 (paperback).

This book isn't new, but it is a very useful guide to how allergies develop and how to prevent and treat them with a combination of understanding, self-management and medication.

## 5 STEPS TO EATING RIGHT

GO LEAN AND MEAN, FIGHT THE FAT, GET FRESH AND GRAINY—IT'S ALL IN A DAY'S WORK WHEN IT COMES TO EATING WELL ON THE GO.

THE LATEST DIETARY GUIDELINES REPORT, RELEASED BY THE U.S. Department of Agriculture in 2005, is 80 pages long! Not exactly quick reading when you want some advice as you're heading out in search of a healthful dinner or trying to figure out how to lose some weight. But eating right doesn't have to be all that hard. In fact, you could boil it down to a couple of common-sense basics.

For starters, focus on foods that aren't overly processed. Think fresh colorful fruits and veggies, rich in disease-fighting antioxidants (there really is good reason to eat an apple a day). Choose dark green vegetables, such as broccoli and kale, and orange carrots and sweet potatoes. Skip the refried beans and go for protein-rich lentils and black beans.

Second, choose whole grains. Current guidelines recommend three or more one-ounce whole-grain servings a day. That can be bread, pasta, oatmeal, cereals, breakfast or snack bars, crackers or many other options. Just make sure that your choice bears the stamp of the non-profit Whole Grains Council, which guarantees that a serving has at least 16 grams of whole grains. Why whole grains? A recent Tufts University study showed that whole-grain foods slowed the accumulation of plaque in the arteries, and other studies have linked whole grain intake with a lower risk of heart disease. Good reason to get grainy.

Third, stay lean and mean. When it comes to sources of calcium and protein, think low-fat. Choose calcium-rich foods, such as low-fat yogurt, cheese and skim milk. And broil or grill lean cuts of meat or poultry. Fourth, know your fats. The bad guys are saturated and trans fats. Replace them with heart-healthy monounsaturated choices.

And, last, remember the calories in/calories out rule. Even with a healthful diet, if you're eating twice as many calories as you're burning, the scale won't be your friend.



#### Resources

WEB SITES MyPyramid.gov www.healthierus.gov/dietaryguide-

lines/index.html
This Web site of the United States
Department of Agriculture is an
interactive guide to helping you
eat right and live more healthfully.
Explore the Dietary Guidelines for

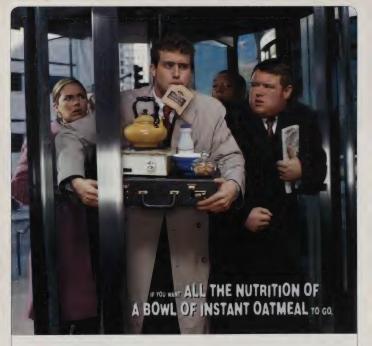
Americans 2005 and create your own custom food pyramid. Also includes tips on eating out without overdoing it and planning a healthy menu.

Harvard School of Public Health www.hsph.harvard.edu/nutrition-

This site from the Department of Nutrition at the Harvard School of Public Health will help you decipher the USDA's new MyPyramid food system and provides tips for healthy eating and dispelling nutrition myths. You'll find out what you should eat, and why.

BOORS
The Eating

The EatingWell in a Hurry Cookbook: 150 Delicious Recipes for Simple, Everyday Suppers in 45 Minutes or Less by Jim Romanoff and the editors of EatingWell, CountryMan, 2006, 515.72 Coming out of the highly acclaimed Vermont test kitchens of EatingWell magazine, this book serves up a broad range of easy and mouth-watering recipes such as Warm Salmon Salad with Crispy Potatoes, Garlic & Parsley Rubbed Lamb Chops with Group Salad with Crispy Potatoes, Garlic & Parsley Couscous Salad, and Chicken with Creen Olives & Dried Pluns.







## HOW TO BE A GOOD PATIENT

DURING A DOCTOR VISIT IS NO TIME TO MAKE LIKE A CLAM. COMMUNICATION IS KEY TO A GOOD DOCTOR-PATIENT RELATIONSHIP AND TO GOOD HEALTHCARE. HERE'S HOW TO DO YOUR PART.



THE OLD ADAGE THAT IT IS BETTER TO BE SEEN AND NOT heard is not going to serve you well at the doctor's office. After all, the average doc-patient visit is just 15 minutes, and studies have shown that right after leaving the exam room patients typically don't remember more than half of what was said!

The onus is on the patient to step up to the plate: If you're not prepared to share your problems and concerns, ask a lot of

questions and get answers, you won't be able to maximize the time you have with a busy professional. And your health—and satisfaction with your physician—could suffer.

Why do patients clam up and lose their hearing during a doctor visit? It could be nerves or simple forgetfulness. But like a good Boy Scoul; it pays to be prepared. In this case, that means going to the appointment with an up-to-date health history and a list of concerns, symptoms or recent illnesses, current medications, changes in sleeping or eating habits and anything else that seems important. If you have a recurring pain in your right shoulder, jot down when the pain happens, how it feels (sharp? dull? throbbing?) and how long it lasts. The more specific you can be, the better able your physician will be to diagnose and treat the injury or illness.

During the consultation, take notes. Make sure you know what tests your doctor is recommending and when and how you'll get the results. Will your insurance cover them? Ask to hear all of the treatment options and their benefits and drawbacks. If medication is being discussed, ask the doctor about side effects and dosage. Will it interact with any of your other meds? Listen carefully and speak up if you don't understand what's being said.

As you leave, ensure that you know next steps and any follow-up that's required. Building a positive partnership with your doctor takes time and effort. But isn't your good health worth it?

#### Resources

WEB SITE

Medline Plus

http://www.nlm.nih.gov/medlineplus/talkingwithyourdoctor.html

This Web site of the U.S. National Library of Medicine and the National Institutes of Health provides links to a variety of resources on improving the doctor-patient relationship. Agency for Healthcare Research and Quality www.ahra.gov/consumer/Ssteps.htm . Visit this government site and print out the patient fact sheet about safer healthcare, which includes recommendations on positive patient-doctor communication.

American Heart Association

www.americanheart.org

Visit this site and search for "talking to doctor"
for a checklist of things you can print out and

take with you to discuss with your physician at your next visit.

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How to Choose a Good Doctor by George
D. Lemaitre, MD, Authorhouse, 2005, 511.50
This guide gives practical advice on how to
find the right physician for you in your area
and how to best communicate with your
doctor about everything from medication to
surgery.



#### THANKS TO DR. JERMAN, THIS GRANDPA CAN STILL COME OUT TO PLAY.

He had his first heart attack at 79. But thanks to Dr. Jerman, he's still playing with his granddaughter at 92.

Although it's easy to attribute patient longevity to advances in medical science, those advances would be nothing without Dr. Jerman's skill, diligent observation and dedication to his patients. In the care of Dr. Jerman, this spry fellow has more time to play expert bridge, more time to go bird watching, and more time to goof around with his granddaughter.

Dr. Jerman wouldn't consider himself a hero. But to a certain three-year-old girl, he definitely is.



Michael Jerman, MD Cardiologist AMA member



Helping doctors help patients.

Lad the AMA socol the declars was we heen hooses in your life

Share your story at

www.ama-assn.org/go/stories

# CHOLESTEROL

NEARLY 100 MILLION AMERICANS HAVE HIGH CHOLESTEROL. IF YOU'RE ONE OF THEM, IT'S TIME TO FIGHT BACK.

WHO WOULD HAVE THOUGHT THAT A LITTLE fact could cause so much trouble? That, after all, is what cholesterol is—a waxy fat-like goo produced in bulk by the liver, about 1,000 milligrams a day. Most of us take in another several hundred milligrams in the foods we eat that come from animal products high in cholesterol (meat, egg yolks) or from foods high in saturated fats (ice cream, cheese, red meat) and trans fats (anything cooked with hydrogenated vegetable oils, from French fries to baked goods).

The body needs cholesterol to make vitamin D and various hormones and to help the liver with fat digestion. In fact, some cholesterol, the HDL type (think H for happy), helps keep the lousy stuff (LDL) from building up in arteries. But too much of the bad LDL? That, as everybody knows by now, is bad news for our arteries and hearts. What's too high? The American Heart Association recommends that total cholesterol be less than 200 mg, with LDL below 130 and HDL above 60. Anyone over the age of 20 should have his or her blood cholesterol checked at least every five years. If the results aren't satisfactory, your doctor may recommend more frequent testing.

The truth is, our body makes all the cholesterol it needs without us adding all those burgers, cheese fries and donuts. And in a sort of negative double-whammy, the same foods that contribute to high bad cholesterol also seem to lower our good cholesterol. That means that a healthier diet is the first liet of attack in the battle against bad cholesterol.

Where to start? Limit white foods and sweets that add calories without a lot of nutrients or fiber. Lower



your saturated fat intake to 7 percent to 10 percent of daily calories. Instead of eating processed foods, choose a diet rich in plant foods (fruits, veggies, whole grains, beans), monounsaturated fats (like olive or canola oil), omega-3 fatty acids (fish such as salmon)—all of which can help control cholesterol levels. If you think in color—red tomatoes, yellow bell peppers, orange carrots and purple cabbage all contain phytochemicals that protect cells—and avoid those foods high in hydrogenated and trans fats, you'll be doing your cholesterol count a world of good.

In addition to good eating, weekly vigorous exercise can help elevate the good cholesterol and lower the bad LDL cholesterol and triglycerides (other fatty substances that clog the vessels). Even just 20 minutes a day three days a week of fairly rigorous cardiovascular activity, such as swimming, running or biking, can have a positive effect in diminishing cholesterol levels. And any exercise, however mild—from gardening or dancing on the weekends to walking around the block



### Looking for a Different Way to Help Lower Cholesterol?

Then look here. Statins, the most common cholesterollowering medicines, are a good option. ZETIA is different. That's because. unlike statins, which work mainly with the liver, ZETIA works in the digestive tract, where the food is. There are some other cholesterol-lowering medicines that work in the digestive tract, but ZETIA is unique in the way it helps block the absorption of cholesterol that comes from food.

A healthy diet and exercise are important, but sometimes they're not enough to get your cholesterol where it needs to be. ZETIA complements those efforts, and when added to a healthy diet, is proven to lower bad (LDL) cholesterol by as much as 30 points—about 18%\* These are average results. Individual results may vary. You should continue to eat right and stay active. But if that's not enough, ask your doctor if ZETIA is right for you.

\*In a study, starting from an average had cholesterol of 167 mg/dL

ZETIA has not been shown to prevent heart disease or heart attacks.

Important information: ZETIA is a prescription medicine and should not be taken by people who are allergic to any of its ingredients. If you have ever had liver problems, are nursing or pregnant or may become pregnant, a doctor will decide if ZETIA alone is right for you.

Unexplained muscle pain or weakness could be a sign of a rare but serious side effect and should be reported to your doctor right away. Common side effects included stomach pain and feeling tired.

For more information, call 1-800-98-ZETIA or visit zetia.com. Please read the Patient Product Information on the adjacent page.



(ezetimibe) Tablets A different way to help fight cholesterol

Zetia

ZETIA works in the digestive tract and is

nique in the way it helps block the absorp

of cholesterol that comes from food

MERCK / Schering-Plough Pharmaceuticals

To find out if you qualify, call 1-800-347-7503

#### ZETIA<sup>s</sup> (ezetimibe) Tablets

#### Patient Information about ZETIA (zěť-ē-ă)

Generic name: ezetimihe (ĕ-zĕt'-ĕ-mīh)

Read this information carefully before you start taking ZETIA and each time you get more ZETIA. There may be new information. This information does not take the place of talking with your doctor about your medical condition or your treatment. If you have any questions about ZETIA, ask your doctor. Only your doctor can determine if ZETIA is right for you.

#### What is ZETIA?

ZETIA is a medicine used to lower levels of total cholesterol and LDL (bad) cholesterol in the blood. It is used for patients who cannot control their cholesterol levels by diet alone. It can be used by itself or with other medicines to treat high cholesterol. You should stay on a cholesterol-lowering diet while taking this medicine.

ZETIA works to reduce the amount of cholesterol your body absorbs. ZETIA does not help you lose weight.

For more information about cholesterol, see the "What should I know about high cholesterol?" section that follows.

#### Who should not take ZETIA?

- Do not take ZETIA if you are allergic to exetimibe, the active ingredient in ZETIA, or to the inactive ingredients. For a list of inactive ingredients, see the "Inactive ingredients" section that follows.
- If you have active liver disease, do not take ZETIA while taking cholesterol-lowering medicines called statins.
- If you are pregnant or breast-feeding, do not take ZETIA while taking a statin.

#### What should I tell my doctor before and while taking ZETIA?

Tall your doctor about any prescription and non-prescription medicines you are taking or plan to take, including natural or herbal remedies.

Tall your doctor about all your medical conditions including allergies.

Tell your doctor if you:

- ever had liver problems. ZETIA may not be right for you.
   are pregnant or plan to become pregnant. Your doctor will decide if
- ZETIA is right for you.

  are breast-feeding. We do not know if ZETIA can pass to your baby
- through your milk. Your doctor will decide if ZETIA is right for you.

  experience unexplained muscle pain, tenderness, or weakness.

#### How should I take ZETIA?

- Take ZETIA once a day, with or without food. It may be easier to remember to take your dose if you do it at the same time every day, such as with breakfast, dinner, or at bedtime. If you also take another medicine to reduce your cholesterol, ask your doctor if you can take them at the same time.
- If you forget to take ZETIA, take it as soon as you remember.
- However, do not take more than one dose of ZETIA a day.

  Continue to follow a cholesterol-lowering diet while taking ZETIA.
- Ask your doctor if you need diet information.
- Keep taking ZETIA unless your doctor tells you to stop. It is important that you keep taking ZETIA even if you do not feel sick.

See your doctor regularly to check your cholesterol level and to check for side effects. Your doctor may do blood tests to check your liver before you start taking ZETIA with a statin and during treatment.

#### What are the possible side effects of ZETIA?

In clinical studies patients reported few side effects while taking ZETIA. These included stomach pain and feeling tired.

Very rarely, patients have experienced severe muscle problems while taking ZETIA, usually when ZETIA was added to a statin drug. If you experience unexplained muscle pain, tenderness, or weakness while taking ZETIA, contact your doctor immediately. You need to do this

promptly, because on rare occasions, these muscle problems can be serious, with muscle breakdown resulting in kidney damage.

Additionally, the following side effects have been reported in general use: allergic reactions (which may require treatment right away) including swelling of the face, lips, tongue, and/or throat that may cause difficulty in breathing or swellowing, rash, and hives; joint pain; muscle aches; alterations in some laboratory blood tests; liver problems; inflammation of the pancreas; neusea; gellstones; inflammation of the galibladder.

Tell your doctor if you are having these or any other medical problems while on ZETIA. For a complete list of side effects, ask your doctor or pharmacist.

#### What should I know about high cholesterol?

Cholesterol is a type of fat found in your blood. Your total cholesterol is made up of LDL and HDL cholesterol.

LDL cholesterol is called "bad" cholesterol because it can build up in the wall of your arteries and form plaque. Over time, plaque build-up can cause a narrowing of the arteries. This narrowing can slow or block blood flow to your heart, brain, and other organs. High LDL cholesterol is a major cause of heart disease and stroke.

HDL cholesterol is called "good" cholesterol because it keeps the bad cholesterol from building up in the arteries.

Triglycerides also are fats found in your blood.

#### General Information about ZETIA

Medicines are sometimes prescribed for conditions that are not mentioned in patient information leaflets. Do not use ZETIA for a condition for which it was not prescribed. Do not give ZETIA to other people, even if they have the same condition you have. It may harm them.

This summarizes the most important information about ZETIA. If you would like more information, talk with your doctor. You can ask your pharmacist or doctor for information about ZETIA that is written for health professionals.

#### Inactive ingredients:

Croscarmellose sodium, lactose monohydrate, magnesium stearate, microcrystalline cellulose, povidone, and sodium lauryl sulfate.
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or to the park during your lunch break-has benefits for your heart and overall health. Exercise also can help reduce stress, which has shown to be a contributor to high cholesterol levels.

For many, healthy lifestyle changes alone don't reduce bad cholesterol to acceptable levels. Some of these people may have inherited the tendency toward high cholesterol; their rate of producing and clearing LDL levels from their blood may be impossible to control with a change in diet or increase in exercise. Others just need a bit more help.

For them, prescription medications may be another part of the battle plan, Luckily, the arsenal of cholesterol fighters has grown, Today, doctors may prescribe statins—which work in the liver to block the production of bad cholesterol by inhibiting the HMG-CoA liver enzyme—or ezetimibe, a newer drug that lowers total and bad cholesterol by blocking its absorption in the stomach. Sometimes both drugs are prescribed, along with the requisite diet and exercise.



#### Resources

American Heart Association (AHA) 7272 Greenville Ave.

Dallas, TX 75231 800/242-8721; www.americanheart.org The AHA offers print and online materials about reducing the risks of high cholesterol. Get solid advice on managing cholesterol and building a healthy heart when you join the free "Cholesterol

Low Down." WEB SITES

National Heart, Lung, and Blood Institute

(NHLBI) www.nhlbi.nih.gov

The NHLBI site has information about preventing and managing lung and artery diseases, with free materials on cholesterol and eating right. Check out its "Therapeutic Lifestyle Changes" section that walks the user through a variety of ways to lower cholesterol through healthy lifestyle changes-from smarter grocery shopping and tips for eating out to the best exercises for maximum results.

Medline Plus

www.nlm.nih.gov/medlineplus/cholesterol.html Medline Plus is a great source of health information pulled from the National Institutes of Health (NIH), other government agencies and healthrelated organizations. Users can access medical journal articles and the latest medical news on cholesterol and heart health, along with an illustrated medical encyclopedia and interactive patient tutorials.

KeepKidsHealthy.com www.keepkidshealthy.com/nutrition/ cholesterol.html

Even children aren't safe from high cholesterol. especially if one of their parents has it or if they're overweight. Visit this site to get information about screening for cholesterol levels in kids.

The Harvard Medical School Guide to Lowering Your Cholesterol by Mason W. Freeman, Health Text Audio, 2006, \$14.92 (audiobook) This audiobook from a top expert at the Harvard Medical School offers a down-to-earth guide to controlling cholesterol levels and reducing the risk of heart disease and stroke.

Eating for Lower Cholesterol: A Balanced Approach to Heart Health with Recipes Everyone Will Love by Catherine Jones with Elaine B. Trujillo, Marlowe & Company, 2005, \$11.02 (paperback)

Written by a food writer and a dietician, this combo cookbook and health guide is packed with delicious healthful recipes-from breakfasts to desserts-and nutritional tips for lowering cholesterol.

## V IS FOR VITAMINS



THE RECIPE FOR GOOD HEALTH INCLUDES PLENTY OF VITAMINS AND MINERALS, ARE YOU GETTING ENOUGH?

UNTIL RECENTLY, NUTRITIONAL COMMON SENSE DICTATED that most of us could get our recommended daily dose of nutrients (which our body doesn't make from scratch) in our food. Load up your plate with healthful fruits, veggies and whole grains and you were good to go.

That's still a fine plan, but today there's evidence that supplementing even a healthy diet with vitamins is a smart idea (and if your diet's not so healthy, an even better idea). Not only do vitamins fill in where your meal plan is spotty and prevent deficiencies, they also may help stave off heart disease, cancer, osteoporosis and other chronic diseases.

The rise in vitamin acceptance came, in part, after the discovery that too little folic acid, one of the eight B vitamins, was linked to such birth defects as spina bifida. Because enough folic acid isn't easy to get simply from food (think piles of collard greens and broccoli), prenatal vicamins took off. Since then, research has been done that indicates the B vitamins also may help fight cancer and heart disease.

Vitamin C is another supplement that received a lot of buzz. Studies have shown that vitamin C is a powerful antioxidant that can neutralize free radicals, and it helps make collagen, a tissue needed for healthy bones, teeth, gums and blood vessels. Does it prevent colds? The research is mixed, but there is proof that C can help control infections and ease symptoms if taken at the start of a cold.

Researchers are continuing to study the benefits of vitamins and how to best get them. In the meantime, for the average healthy person, a standard RDA-level multivitamin supplement that contains folic acid. the Bs, C, D and E will provide an adequate nutritional safety net.

#### Resources

The United States Pharmacopeia 12601 Twinbrook Parkway Rockville, MD 20852 800/227-8772: www.usp.org This not-for-profit organization's Dietary Supplement Verification Program independently tests vitamins and other supplements and provides a seal of approval for those products that pass. See the list of approved supplements at the USP Web site.

Food and Nutrition Information

www.nal.usda.gov/fnic The Food and Nutrition Information Center (FNIC) is part of the National Agricultural Library. Its site is full of practical resources for consumers, including an extensive section on vitamins and minerals.

Consumer Reports www.consumerreports.org Consumer Reports' health & fitness section routinely provides comparison analyses and consumer information and warnings for products it tests, including dietary supplements.

Medline Plus

www.nlm.nih.gov/medlineplus/ vitaminsandminerals.html This Web site of the U.S. National Library of Medicine and the National Institutes of Health provides usage and research information on vitamins and minerals and related links.

The Complete Guide to Vitamins, Herbs, and Supplements: The Holistic Path to Good Health by Winifred Conkling, Avon, 2006, \$6.99 (paperback) This comprehensive guide to all over-the counter vitamins, herbs and supplements currently available has valuable information on the most effective forms of each supplement, the nutrient's food source and proper dosage, and signs of deficiency, safe use and possible side effects.



hold your health to the highest standard

## UNDERSTANDING DIABETES

AS DIABETES RESEARCH CONTINUES, TWO THINGS ARE CERTAIN: DIET AND EXERCISE CAN GO A LONG WAY IN PREVENTING AND CONTROLLING THE CONDITION.



ARE YOU AT RISK FOR DIABETES! WHILE ALMOST 15 MILLION
Americans have been diagnosed with the disease, experts think that
another six million or more have it—and don't know it. Some symptoms—fatigue, irritability, weight loss—seem so common and harmless
that they're often overlooked. Extreme thirst and frequent urination,
however, are sometimes enough to send a person to the doctor's office,
where a Fasting Plasma Clucose Test (FPG) or an Oral Glucose
Tolerance Test (OGTT) can confirm the diagnosis. Because diabetes
can increase your risk for heart disease and other serious conditions, it's
important to get tested if you have any concerns.

Insulin, which helps the body convert the sugar (glucose) from foods you eat into energy, is a key factor in diabetes. The majority of Americans with diabetes have type 2 diabetes, which results when the body isn't able to use insulin correctly. Type 1 diabetes is caused by the body's inability to produce enough insulin. In both cases, insulin treatment may be prescribed to help control the body's blood sugar.

Healthy lifestyle changes can go a long way toward stabilizing blood sugar. In some cases, exercising and eating right may reduce or even eliminate the need for medication. During exercise, your hard-at-work muscles use the sugar supplies in your blood for energy, reducing the glucose level. Eating a balanced and healthful diet that's low in fat and high in fiber also can help regulate blood sugar. For those with pre-diabetes, a condition where blood sugar levels are borderline, diet and exercise can prevent the onset of full-blown diabetes.

#### Resources

ORCANIZATIONS
American Diabetes Association
1701 N. Beauregard St.
Alexandria, VA. 22311: 800/342-2383
www.diabetes.org/about-diabetes.jsp
The ADA is a nonprofit health organization
providing diabetes research, information and
advocacy. The group has a Web site jam packed
advocacy the group has a Web site jam packed
diabetes, risk factors and self tests, diagnosis and
treatment, and nutrition and exercise.

WEB SITES
Joslin Diabetes Center
www.joslin.org
The Web site of the Joslin Diabetes Center (affiliated with Harvard Medical School) offers a
beginner's guide to understanding diabetes, a
glossary and a library of articles that tackle every
aspect of diabetes from diagnosis to the latest

OOKS

The EatingWell Diabetes Cookbook: 275 Delicious Recipes and 100+ Tips for Simple Carbohydrate Control by Marion J. Franz, CountryMan, 2005, \$20.96

Coming out of the highly acclaimed Vermont test kitchens of EatingWell magazine, this book is a great resource for the person just diagnosed with diabetes. It's full of expert advice for a better diet and healther lifestyle, with an emphasis on how choosing the right foods that naturally help stabilize glucose levels can increase energy.

1001 Tips for Living Well With Diabetes by the American Diabetes Association, 2004, \$12.97 (paperback)

This book, from the experts at the ADA, provides head-to-toe coverage for managing diabetes and covers everything from dealing with depression and stress to aging well in order to avoid common age-related complications.

Living With Type 2 Diabetes by Timothy I, Gray and Cloria Loring, M Press, 2006, \$15.72 The specifics of how to effectively combine insulin, diet and exercise can be a challenge. That's why soap star Gloria Loring, who has a child with diabetes, and Dr. Timothy Gray joined forces to write this informational book, which features step-by-step management advice and diabetes self-assessment tools.



#### Important Safety Information

Prescription Lantus" is for adults with type 2 diabetes or adults and children (6 years and otder) with type 1 diabetes who require long-acting insulin for the control of high blood sugar.

DO NOT DILUTE OR MIX LANTUS WITH ANY OTHER INSULIN OR SOLUTION. It will not work as intended, and you may lose blood sugar control, which could be serious. Do not change your insulin without talking with your doctor. The syringe must not contain any other medication or residue. You should not use Lantus" if you are allergic to insulin. Lantus" is a long-acting insulin-you inject just once a day, at the same time each day.

As with any insulin therapy, possible side effects may include blood sugar levels that are too low (inypoglycemia): injection site reactions, including changes in fait tissue at the injection site; litching and rasty and allegic reactions. Rare but serious side effects may cour. Tell your dottor about all other medicines and supplements you are laking because they can change the way insuffin works. OptiClik is a reusable insulin delivery device (insulin Pen) for use with a 3-mL Lantus cartridge (U-100).

See additional important information on the next page.

sanofi aventis

# insulin glargine [rDNA origin] injection

LANTUS' ONCE-DAILY. 24-HOUR INSULIN

Angela was born to be wild. She also takes Lantus as part of her diabetes therapy. daily, 24-hour insulin with no pronounced peak. And it works steadily all day and all night, so Angela is free

Ask your doctor about 24-hour Lantus, now available in the OptiClik pen

1-866-4LANTUS www.lantus.com

Brief Summary of Prescribing Information November 2005

**LANTUS**<sup>a</sup>

(insulin glargine [rDNA origin] injection) LANTUS® must NOT be diluted or mixed with any other in

INDICATIONS AND USAGE LANTUS is indicated for once-daily subcutaneous administration for the treatment of adult and pediatric extents with

CONTRAINDICATIONS

WARNINGS

ia is the most common adverse effect of insulin, including LANTUS. As with all insulins, the ti of hypoglycemia may differ among various insulin formulations. Glucose monitoring is recommended for all patients with diabetes.

Any change of insulin should be made cautiously and only under medical supervision. Changes in it strength, timing of dosing, manufacturer, type (e.g., regular, NPH, or insulin analogs), species (animal, human), or method of manufacture (recombinant DNA versus animal-source insulin) may result in the need for a change in dosage. Concomitant oral antidiabetes treatment may need to be adjusted

PRECAUTIONS

LANTUS is not intended for intravenous administration. The prolonged duration of activity of insulin glargine is dependent

LANTUS must NOT be diluted or mixed with any other insulin or solution. If LANTUS is diluted or mixed the solution As with all insulin preparations, the time course of EANTUS action may vary in different individuals or at different times

Hypoglycemia:

Hepatic Impairment

Injection Site and Allergic Reactions:

Intercurrent Conditions

Information for Patients

Patients must be advised that LANTUS must NOT be diduted or mixed with any other insulin or solution (see

PRECAUTIONS, General). Patients should be instructed on self-management procedures including glucose monitoring, proper injection technique

Patients with diabetes should be advised to inform their health care professional if they are pregnant or are conto

Drug Interactions

The following are examples of substances that may increase the blood-glucose-lowering effect and susceptibility to

Carcinogenesis, Mutagenesis, Impairment of Fertility:

and rate standard two year concessions about a with invest glargue were performed at doses up to

was observed. Consequently, a reduction of the rearing rate occurred in the high-dose group only. Similar effects were

Teratogenic Effects: Pregnancy Category C. Subcutaneous reproduction and teratology studies have been performed with insulin glargine and regular human insulin in rats and Himalavan rabbits. The drug was given to female rats before

Nursing Mothers:

Pedsatric Use ness of LANTUS have been established in the age group 6 to 15 years with type 1 diabetes

ADVERSE REACTIONS

Body as a whole: allernic reactions (see PRECAUTIONS) Skin and appendages: injection site reaction, lipodystrophy, pruntus, rash (see PRECAUTIONS) Other: hypoglycemia (see WARNINGS and PRECAUTIONS)

OVERDOSAGE

An excess of insulin relative to food intake, energy expenditure, or both may lead to severe and sometimes long-term

DOSAGE AND ADMINISTRATION

LANTUS is a recombinant human insulin analog, its potency is approximately the same as human insulin. If exhibits a relatively constant glucose lowering profile over 24 hours that permits once-daily dosing.

the same time every day. For patients adjusting timing of downs with LANTUS, see WARNINGS and PRECAUTIONS, Hypoghycemia. LANTUS is not intended for intravenous administration (see PRECAUTIONS), intravenous administration of

Initiation of LANTUS Theraps:

Changeover to LANTUS: nging from a treatment regimen with an intermediate- or long-acting insulin to a regimen with LANTUS, the

is Group, Bridgewater NJ 08807

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EALTH FITNESS 4000 TRENDS



## **ESTROGEN AGAIN**

By CHRISTINE GORMAN

THE RESULTS OF THE WOMEN'S HEALTH INITIATIVE (WHI)—the largest, most scientifically rigorous study of older women's medical issues ever conducted—continue to startle researchers, confuse the public and frustrate headline writers. Case in point: last week's report that taking estrogen for seven years does not increase the risk of breast cancer for many women. There is a lot of good news in that finding, as well as some important caveats.

In many ways, the story began four years ago when researchers halted a different part of the witi—one that looked at the long-term health effects of taking the hormone combination estrogen and progestin (Prempon)—because of an increased risk of breast cancer and heart disease. (Women with a uterus who want to try hormone therapy must take both hormones because estrogen alone increases the risk of uterine cancer.) Two years later, the estrogen-only (Premarin) part of the trial, which focused on nearly 11,000 post-

menopausal women who had undergone a hysterectomy, was stopped because of a slightly greater risk of strokealthough there was no overall boost in heart disease. Preliminary evidence at the time suggested that estrogen did not increase the women's risk of breast cancer. That was something of a surprise, so most researchers reserved judgment until the final analyses had been completed.

The results are now in and should reassure a lot of women. There is still no scientific justification for the long-term use of hormones after menopause to prevent such conditions as heart disease or

dementia. But a shorter course of estrogen—seven years or less—is safe enough with respect to breast cancer and other health risks that it's a reasonable option for

## The hormone doesn't increase cancer risk-for some women

the treatment of severe menopausal symptoms. In other words, says Marcia Stefanick. one of the lead researchers, since there is no overriding safety concern, "the focus should be on your individual risk."

Here's where things get tricky. A closer look at the findings shows that women who have had a benign breast ailment, who score high on the socalled Gail model of breast-cancer risks or whose mother or sister

## 10,739

Number of women who participated in this part of the giant study

had breast cancer are slightly more likely to develop breast cancer when taking estrogen supplements. In addition, all study participants, regardless of their breast cancer risk, were more likely to have suspicious looking mammograms that required biopsies to make sure that nothing was wrong.

So, if you have severe menopausal symptoms, have lost your uterus and don't have a high risk of developing breast cancer or blood clots, you can safely consider estrogen therapy for temporary relief. Eventually, as genetic tests based on blood samples from WHI participants start to be developed, investigators should be able to sav even more precisely who is likely to benefit from estrogen treatment and who should avoid it. Meanwhile, stay tuned for more surprising WHI results.

#### THE WOMEN'S HEALTH INITIATIVE

More than 160,000 women enrolled in the WHI studies. Of them, 27,347 participated in the two hormone trials The main purpose of the two trials was to find out if long-term hormone therapy prevents heart disease in older women. The answer was no Some doctors wonder whether hormones may benefit younger women an issue the WHI did not address

SOURCE THE NATIONAL HEART LUNG AND BLOOD INSTITUTE

## **LET THE FORMAT WARS BEGIN**

By WILSON ROTHMAN

DIGITAL VIDEODISCS ARE ENORMOUSLY POPULAR. and high-definition televisions are finally starting to catch on. But the next logical step-pyps that carry high-definition (HD) movies-has proved to be a difficult one. Ordinary DVDs can't hold the data required for true HD video, and electronics manufacturers haven't been able to agree on a new DVD format with enough capacity to do the job. Instead, they have broken into two warring camps: the so-called Blu-ray group (established by Sony and endorsed by Philips, Panasonic, Pioneer and Samsung) and the HD DVD Promotion Group (supported by Toshiba, Microsoft and others). So far, that hasn't been a problem for consumers eager to buy DVD players for their big-screen HDTVs because nobody actually sold any players.

That changes this week, when the first HD DVD player out of the block, Toshiba's \$500 HD-Al, goes on sale at Amazon.com and major U.S. retail stores. The boxy black and silver device looks like a standard DVD playerand will play standard DVDs-but also contains the hardware necessary to play HD pyps when it's connected to an HDTV set. (And only when it's connected to an HDTV: you can't watch the new discs on your old sets.)

What discs, you might ask? Only four will be available this week-Serenity, Million Dollar Baby. The Phantom of the Opera and The Last Samurai, But three big Hollywood studios are planning to rush out more HD DVD titles in the next month or two-10 from Paramount. 10 from Universal and 20 from

Warner Bros. List prices range from \$29 to \$40; Amazon.com is charging as little as \$20 for some titles. Netflix has said it will distribute every HD pvp titleand, when they become available, all Blu-ray titles-for rent immediately upon release. Toshiba has a head

start in this race to the living room, but that won't last long. Samsung plans to sell Blu-ray players by early summer, followed closely by Sony, Pioneer and Panasonic. The first Blu-ray machines will be aimed at video enthusiasts and priced accordingly (\$1,000 and up. roughly comparable to Toshiba's \$800 high-end HD-XAI) and will be supported with movies from Fox. Disney and Sony. (Paramount and Warner Bros. are making dises in both formats.)

But the real battle will begin this fall when Sony ships its long-



The first HD players go on sale this week. Should you buy or wait?







#### **HD DVD**

LG, Sanyo

TECHNOLOGY PARTNERS: Toshiha. Thomson/RCA, NEC. Microsoft, Intel. Hewlett-Packard,

MOVIE STUDIOS: Universal, HBO. Warner Bros.. Paramount, Weinstein Co.

LASER TYPE: Blue

DISC CAPACITY 15 GB per layer (two layers are standard)

AVAILABILITY: On sale

#### BLU-RAY

#### TECHNOLOGY PARTNERS: Sony,

Philips, Samsung, Pioneer, Panasonic, LG, Hewlett-Packard, Apple. Dell, Thomson. Mitsubishi, Hitachi

MOVIE STUDIOS: Sony Pictures (and MGM) Paramount, Warner Bros.

LASER TYPE: Blue

DISC CAPACITY: 25 GB per layer (two

AVAILABILITY Summer 2006 PRICE: \$1,000 plus

awaited PlayStation 3. In addition to playing stateof-the-art video games, it will be equipped with Blu-ray technology and is expected to sell for less than \$500. Not to be outdone, Microsoft (Sony's main competitor in the video-game market) has let it be known that it will offer HD DVD as an add-on to its Xbox 360 game console.

It's a format war reminiscent of Betamax vs. VHS, in which the biggest losers were the manufacturers of the defeated format (in that case, Sony) and the consumers who bought the wrong machines. If you have an HDTV and you're dying to watch movies in their full HD splendor, the Toshiha box isn't a bad idea. If you're a game player, you will probably want to hold out for the PlayStation 3 or the Xbox HD DVD drive. If you're the cautious type, you may want to wait for the dust to settle-and the prices to come down.



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MARIA HARAPEVA and her new Advanced Diamonts water

AWI W GARDE SINCE 186

## Lead a fuller life.









THICKENS HAIR FOR BETTER SCALP COVERAGE.

VIVE for Men with Regenium-XY technology gives up to 50% thicker-looking hair for better scale coverage."



BECAUSE YOU'RE WORTH IT

#### **MAYBE THEY CAN CALL IT AALAAN** They share an affinity

for playing dark, offbeat characters in films and having an excess of vowels in their names. Now indie It couple MAGGIE GYLLENHAAL and PETER SARSGAARD will share parenting duties. Gyllenhaal, 28, whose most notorious role was as a secretary who liked spanking. and Sarsgaard, 35, who co-starred with Gyllenhaal's brother Jake in 2005's Jarhead. are engaged and are expecting a baby. The two have conducted a quiet courtship since they met four years ago. No public spats. No embarrassing photos in the tabloids. Still, we're sure the



#### **Q&A** LAURENCE FISHBURNE

After turns as Othello, Ike Turner and The Matrix's Morpheus, Laurence Fishburne exudes a calmer vibe as a spelling tutor in Akeelah and the Bee

You have said you aim to swing like a jazz musician in every performance. How did you find your rhythm playing a professor who gardens? Jazz is classical American music, and [tutor] Larabee's a classical dude. The methods he uses to teach Akeelah. like keeping time while jumping rope and banging on a watering can,

are all pretty swinging. With the Matrix movies and your part in Mission: Impossible III this summer, have you turned into an action star? I got to do the superhero thing in The Matrix. That's always pretty swinging. In Mission: Impossible I got to do my thing, like playing with the language and the character a bit. What are the

rewards of working on a little film like Akeelah when you're not getting a big fee? Just being able to get this movie made is a joy. It was difficult. The

lead character is an 11-year-old AfricanAmerican girl, and they're not making a lot of those movies. Are you a good speller? No. Did working on the movie make you a better speller? No. What word best defines Laurence Fishburne? I'm really not the person to ask. [Laughs.] I don't sit around describing myself. But if I had three words, I would say "a

nice guy." -By Sonja Steptoe



#### ANIMATED KANYE

Check, Launch a line of preppy duds? Check. The next item on rap star KANYE WEST'S to-do list

ton, best known for short films that appeared on MTV in the '80s, met West when drawing the raw, smudgy star's video Heard 'Em

they decided to collaborate West line of baked goods

#### What do medical actresses do when they take time off from tending the sick? Four of the women A NEW THEATER OF OPERATIONS from ER are moving to the theater this spring. Perhaps they just don't like playing golf

DR. ABBY LOCKHART In Neil LaBute's off-Broadway black comedy Some Girl(s), with Eric McCormack, opening in May, Maura Tierney plays the girl who got away-a nice change from Abby. the girl

who got to

intubate.



P.A. JEANIE BOULET Gloria Reuben is Condoleezza Rice in Stuff Happens, a play about the Iraq war. Reuben once sang with Tina Turner, so Condi could bust out some Proud Mary if needed.

DR. ELIZABETH CORDAY AS Nurse Ratched in a West End production of One Flew over the Cuckoo's Nest, Alex Kingston gets a pay and status cut but probably a cuter outfit.



NURSE CAROL HATHAWAY The creepy family reunion Julianna Margulies attends with Ali MacGraw in Broadway's Festen gets dark. but having survived being left by George Clooney's

Dr. Ross.

should get through it.

she



Ana Marie Cox

## **Sweet 16 and Spoiled Rotten**

For rich teens, the hottest birthday present is a six-figure helping of fame

N THE FUTURE, EVERYONE WILL BE FAMOUS FOR \$15,000. WITH the emergence of a whole industry devoted to re-creating celebrity culture for anyone who can afford it, fame is a commotify like any other, although it's true that no matter how much you spend, you'll probably sacrifice your dignity as well.

Actually, \$15,000 is a lowhall estimate, since that would barely cover the event-space rental tab for the kind of lavish spectacles that have become prime-time fare on MTVS highly rated My Super Storest 16. The show documents the excesses of privileged youths commemorating the mighty achievement of making it through

their 16th year. Shell-shocked parentsalways uttering the mantra "It was worth it"—typically peel off checks for upwards of \$200,000. We learn that from the Sun Belto Erie, Pa, the lack of taste knows no ethnic, religious or cultural bounds. You give teenagers \$200,000, and they will spend it exactly as you would expect. The parties are the aesthetic equivalent of Hilary Duff Mrgs.

Every culture has its coming-of-age rituals. A child is inducted into the adult realm through a transformative experience, whether it's becoming more steeped in religion or killing a deer or having a vision. It's true that I would be happy to send any of the children of My Super Stokeot I6 into the desert by themselves for a while. Their blingy flings are not celebrations of accomplishment; they're celebrations of self. What used to mark the end of childhood now seems only an excuse to prolong the whiny, self-are compositions of the composition of the compos

centered greediness that gives infantile a bad name. Far from joining polite society like the debutants of the past, the kids gleefully rip through social graces, alienating friends and sacrificing tact all in the name of creating a VIP room filled with people too young to drive themselves home.

The protagonists' excesses alone make for lurid, enjoyably outraged viewing. (Surely one celebrant's decision to dy her poodles pink should have prompted a call to the A.S.P.C.A.) A precocious celebrant makes her entrance via helicopter. A self-proclaimed "diwo" (like dieae but different) rents out the mall to stage a faux fash-ion show (prompting a backstage catflight over a limited supply of bustiers). There are hired dancers, any-like littler hoisted by hand-picked hottles and an apparent contractual obligation for someone to arrive in a stretch Hummer. I had no idea so many stretch

Hummers even existed. No wonder we had to go to war in Iraq.
The series is like an infomercial for class war, and should the

The series is like an infomerical for class war, and should the revolution come, an episode guide will provide a handy, illustrated list of who should go up against the wall. My Super Sucet 16 had its third-season premier last week building up to the broadcast with a drumroll of conspicuous consumption: four two-hour blocks of episodes drawn from the show's previous seasons. To witness such unself-conscious acquisitroness in one sitting is like eating an entire normal-kid birthday-party sheet cake, wax decorative candles and all. There's the same quesay sense of

monochromatic excess because all the shows are alike, from the fake panic that the party may not happen to the scary-sexy dry humping on the dance floor. And no matter what the nominal theme of the party-California beach party, Moulin Rouge, the color pink-each guest of honor is really after only one thing. "I feel famous. I love it," says one. Another: "I definitely felt like I was famous." Yet one more: "I felt like such a star." The teenagers take on all the tics of fame, from tiny dogs to referring to oneself in the third person. We are all Paris Hilton now.

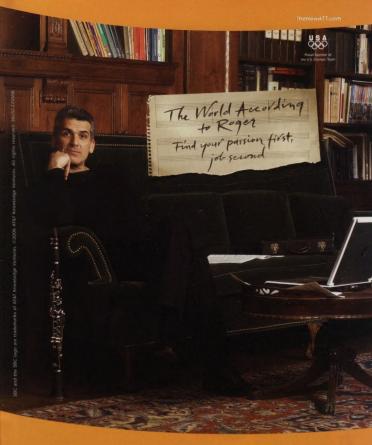
My Super Sweet 16 isn't even the most visible or popular iteration of our democratized just-in-time celebrity culture. Club Libby Lu, a fast-growing chain of mall stores owned by Saks, provides the setting and accessories for elaborate makeover

parties for girls as young as 4 at a relatively reasonable \$21 a head. They can strut down a catwalk, don mock Madorna headset microphones and pester their parents to buy Role Model perfume or a LOCAL CELEBERTY Shirt. It would be easy to bemoan the trend as the end of childhood or the corruption of innocence. But the hunger for recognition doesn't end with the acquisition of a driver's license. As popular culture divides into ever more finely split niches, with Yahoo Groups and blogs touting the cream of whatever subculture you can think of a domain name for, famous is just a matter of answering your e-mail.

The irony, of course, is that the easier it is to become famous—whether in a really famous fashion or simply as a queen for a day—the more irrelevant the meaning of celebrity becomes. As a diminutive diva on My Super Sueet 16 guilelessly observes, "We're like celebrities but not famous." Exactly. Autographs, please.



Ana Marie Cox writes a weekly column that appears on time.com



Roger relies on the most complete and secure network from AT&T so he can have DSL high speed Internet access to search, download and discover new tunes.







ays use safety betts and the correct child restraint for your child's age and size. Even in whickes equipped with Passenger Sensing System, children are safer when properly secured in a restrict the time of the Control Shatmail for more safety information. (2) last 3-686-47613 Aft 1: 886-468-827 or varied natura comit for system influsions and details. (3) 185% Tax, time, control, details control control control shatmail to more safety information. (2) last 3-686-47613 Aft 1: 886-468-827 or varied natura comit for system influsions and details. (3) 185% Tax, time, control, details control co